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# ADVENTURES AND RECOLLECTIONS

OF

COLONEL LANDMANN, *George*

LATE OF THE CORPS OF ROYAL ENGINEERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

COLBURN AND CO., PUBLISHERS,

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1852.

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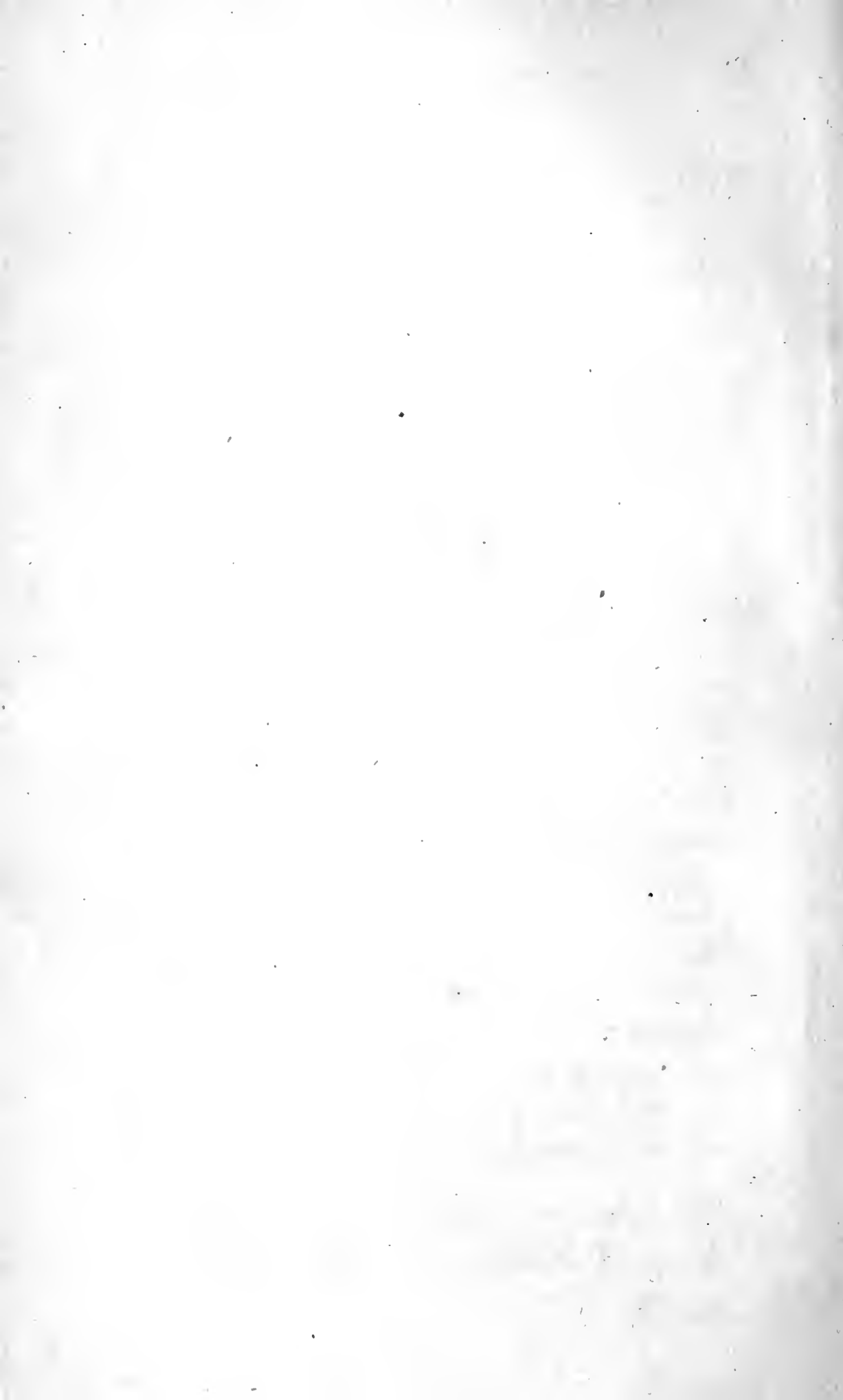
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# ADVENTURES AND RECOLLECTIONS OF COLONEL LANDMANN.

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My father had succeeded Dr. Pollock, as Professor of Fortification and Artillery to the

fastened it by one edge exactly in its place, so that by raising this wheel, the cannon and parts of the carriage necessarily covered by it were at once exposed to inspection. In the same manner, by another drop-leaf, the inside of the cannon and of the carriage were fully displayed. This kind of drawing is now very common, but at the time here alluded to, I believe it was quite unique.

On seeing this, the King was so much delighted that he clapped my father on the shoulder and exclaimed, "This is the best thing I have seen to-day." Several other drawings on the same principle were then produced, amongst which were a thirteen-inch sea-mortar, in its house ; the plan and elevation of a powder-magazine, showing the outside, then, by lifting the drop-leaf, the inside was displayed with all the barrels of gunpowder neatly stacked, &c., &c. The King's delight was expressed in strong terms on each being explained, and he asked for copies. The originals were immediately placed at his disposal.

"Well, well, Mr. Landmann," said the King, "I accept them ; and be assured you have

made me an agreeable present. If you have any favour to ask, speak out."

My father bowed and thanked the King, but did not take advantage of his condescension.

On another occasion, the Queen (Charlotte) came, accompanied by the King; and having entered the upper academy, his Majesty turned to my father, and taking him by the arm said, as he introduced him to the Queen:

"There, there is one of your countrymen. He will talk German to you as long as you like; but he nevertheless speaks very good French and English too."

My father left the academy in conversation with the Queen, who did not dismiss him until she was about to enter the carriage; upon which, observing that he was about to kneel and kiss the hem of her garment, in the German fashion, she held out her hand.

As often as a sufficient number of new cannon were ready to be proved, the Master-General appointed the day for trying their strength; and with a view to rendering this important service less severe, an excellent cook was, at an early hour in the morning, sent from

London, by water, in one of the Ordnance barges, well furnished with all the good things requisite for providing a first-rate dinner.

In those days, three o'clock was the ordinary time for this meal; but on occasions of hard service it was postponed till four, at which hour the members composing the Board of Ordnance, together with a large number of the civil and military officers of the Woolwich establishment and garrison, assembled in the hall of the second class of the Royal Military Academy. My father was always invited; and I have heard him relate the interesting anecdotes with which Lord Townshend entertained his guests. Among his favourite subjects were the siege of Quebec, and the extraordinary talents displayed by the immortal Wolfe. His Lordship also told a story of having, when walking home from Covent Garden Theatre, been set upon by thieves, who picked his pocket of a valuable gold repeater, chain and seals. A short time afterwards when leaving the theatre, he was again surrounded, probably by the same gang. Just as they were commencing to jostle and press round him, his Lordship drew forth a



metal watch by a piece of common string, and swinging it round and round over his head, loudly exclaimed: "Pinchbeck, you dogs!—pinchbeck, you dogs!" Upon which, the rascals instantly dispersed.

It was also nearly about the same period that a man, whose name was Hardham, butler or house-steward to Lord Townshend, having accumulated a small sum of money, was desirous of setting up in some way of business. On soliciting his master's advice, he reminded the man that there were but four or five snuff-shops in all London, and assured him that the use of tobacco would greatly increase. Hardham thankfully acted upon this hint, and in a few weeks his name was painted over the second door in Fleet Street, from Fleet Market (now Farringdon Street).

The Chocolate House, in the Grove at Blackheath, was a place in great favour with Lord Townshend; and he very frequently invited a party composed of the civil and military officers of the Ordnance, stationed at Woolwich, to dine there with him. On one of these occasions, his Lordship, in order to mark the important

parts of his narrative, struck the table with his fist so violently, that the impression of his four knuckles was deeply imprinted into the wood, which daily polishing, for several years afterwards, was insufficient to efface.

In the year 1782, his Lordship had ceased to be the Master-General of the Ordnance; but in the spring of the following year, he was again appointed to that office; upon which occasion, on the 29th of May, 1783, he gave a splendid dinner at the Bull Tavern, on the top of Shooter's Hill, to the military and civil officers of the Ordnance, at Woolwich, in all one hundred and thirty-one persons, at which my father was present.

An event occurred somewhere about the year 1784, which created a considerable sensation throughout the neighbourhood. A Dr. Gore built a large red-brick house, on the western declivity of Shooter's Hill, nearly at the back of the Red Lion public-house, and having insured the same, together with a considerable amount for furniture, plate, &c., in one of the London Insurance Companies, he shortly after fired the premises, which were totally

consumed, and his female servant was burnt to death. The crime of arson was fully established against him ; also that he had cautiously and secretly removed the most valuable articles ; and he was sentenced to death, and hanged. The skeleton of his house remained during several years unrepaired, but was at length rebuilt ; and some twenty to thirty years afterwards was inhabited by General and Mrs. Grant, of the Royal Artillery, both of whom died there.

In attempting to narrate the foregoing anecdotes and events so long gone by, partly from my own recollection, and partly from the oral tradition of my parents, aided in several cases by my father's common-place book, I have unavoidably been compelled to proceed without much certainty in regard to their exact chronological order ; but I do not think such irregularity of much consequence.

In the year 1785, I was sent to a school close at hand, kept by a Monsieur Dufort, a Frenchman, who had taken a house, which during many years afterwards was conducted as a school by the Rev. Dr. Watson ; it was subsequently

demolished, and on its site a Mr. Langham erected the present dwelling. I was accordingly sent daily to M. Dufort's, and there commenced my acquaintance with the late Sir William Congreve, Bart.

He had been destined for the bar, and studied under Holroyd; but I know not what caused him to abandon that pursuit. His invention, or rather, his having perfected the construction of rockets so as to render them fit for war purposes, brought him into considerable notice; and the military achievements of his father, who commanded the artillery with the army in Flanders, under the Duke of York, and particularly at the siege of Valenciennes, no doubt materially tended to assist in advancing his prospects.

Congreve accompanied the army at the siege of Flushing, and there conducted the practice with his rockets, being exposed to all the risks and dangers consequent on the nature of that service; and having fully demonstrated the importance of those projectiles, the Prince Regent appointed him one of his aides-de-camp, which conferred on him, *ex officio*, the rank



of Colonel; and his Royal Highness further offered to place in him the regiment of Royal Artillery as a full Colonel. Congreve was too well aware of the jealousy that would be created by such an infringement of the long-established rights of the Ordnance corps, which requires that every officer shall commence at the bottom of the list of second lieutenants; he, therefore, very prudently declined the intended honour; but did not refuse to accept a pension for life of £1200 per annum—equal in amount to the one granted to Colonel Schrapnell of the Artillery, for his excellent invention of the spherical-case shot.

Towards the latter part of Congreve's life our intimacy went on increasing, and in the course of one of our conversations touching our earlier days, he said to me :

“ Not a very long time ago I met a lady with whom I was much acquainted, when we were both young, and she asked me if I recollected being with her to some noted fortune-teller in Ratcliff Highway, in order to learn our future prospects; but I could not recall the slightest remembrance of that event: upon which she

continued, ‘why, do you not recollect, that he told you that you were to rise by fire, and live amongst princes?’ All of which has to the letter been fulfilled.”

Congreve was undoubtedly very clever, and it is much to be regretted that he wasted so large a portion of his life in endeavouring to discover perpetual motion; and also in attempting to devise some means for rendering forged bank-notes, as easily detected to be such, by the public at large, as they are said to be by the proper officers for that purpose at the Bank of England. I shall merely add, that Congreve’s pulse, when in apparently good health, never fell below one hundred and twenty beats per minute; and that he died in the South of France, in 1828, of a diseased spine.

About the year 1784, or soon afterwards, Mr. Verbrugen, a Dutchman, with a brother or son and three daughters, resided in the Warren. The house is now standing, almost detached, opposite to the Arsenal gates. Mr. Verbrugen had entered into a contract with the Board of Ordnance to cast all their brass cannon, mortars and howitzers; and was allowed the use

of the foundry for that purpose ; one of the conditions being that the castings were to be perfectly solid, and free from any cavities. The contractor proceeded during some years, to the entire satisfaction of all parties, yet the secrecy and mystery observed in the finishing of his work, or perhaps some other circumstance, created an increasing degree of curiosity, and then a suspicion that all was not quite correct. At length, Captain Thomas Blomefield (afterwards Sir Thomas), the Inspector of the Artillery, was induced to look closely into the matter. He ordered a brass cannon to be well cleaned, and particularly to be freed from any grease, and then washed with strong vinegar over the whole surface. This having been done, on the following day a vast number of circles of verdigris of different diameters appeared dispersed from the muzzle to the breech. Blomefield now directed that the same cannon should be sawn into two longitudinal sections, as nearly through the middle as possible, when, after washing the bore first with soap and water, and then with vinegar, fifty-six screws were discovered to have been most ingeniously inserted into as many cavities

or defects in the casting; many of them having been driven from the inside. The consequence was, that Verbrugen lost his contract, his conduct being regarded as almost fraudulent, and he shortly afterwards died through excessive grief.

A curious circumstance occurred in the Warren at one of the provings of the iron cannon supplied by contract, perhaps by the Carron Company. It was then, and may be still, the custom to prove a large number of cannon in one day, sometimes one hundred or more. These were arranged in two or three rows, on a ground declining towards the butt, against which the cannon were pointed. The port-fires, about three inches in length, fastened with clay on the vents, were lighted on one range at the same time, whilst the cannon were placed at distances of fifteen to twenty feet apart. Each piece was loaded with the proof charge of gunpowder, equal to half the weight of one shot, upon which was rammed home two shots of the corresponding calibre. One of the cannon having burst, no very uncommon circumstance in those days, a splinter flew out horizontally,

and struck the nearest cannon to it, which had not yet fired off; the port-fire, which had been lighted at the same time with the one that had burst, was not deranged by the blow; this, however, had been so powerful that it completely turned that cannon round: in a few seconds it went off, and sent the two twenty-four pound shot whizzing over the heads of the persons attending to the provings, who usually retired to the distance of about two hundred yards.

On inspection, it was found that the cannon which had been turned, had discharged its shot exactly in the direction of Woolwich Church, fortunately without doing any injury.

About this period some curious and interesting experiments were tried with mortars, fired at various elevations, and charged in different ways: some were fired off against a strong wind, and others with it; some were charged with a circular flat board, an inch in thickness, placed between the gunpowder and shell, others had only a sheet of cartridge-paper in the same place. Then firing across the wind was tried, and notes made of the ranges were carefully preserved.

These experiments, as also the ordinary mortar and howitzer practice, were conducted on a spot nearly in front of the left wing of the officers' barracks, and at a distance thence of little more than two hundred yards. I was present when a ten-inch or thirteen-inch mortar was discharged at an angle of eighty-five degrees; and although all the officers and others connected with these experiments knew theoretically that the shell must fall at some distance, however short, in front of the mortar, the shell ascended so perpendicularly, and so returned towards the earth, that many of the party involuntarily secured themselves from all chances, by making a hasty move to the rear, to the distance of twenty to fifty yards.

Another mortar battery was established at the same period on Plumstead Common either for regular practice, or for special experiments. In the course of a morning's walk with my mother and sister, we came to this battery just as a mortar was about to be fired off. We halted to see the effect, although by no means with us an unusual sight; but on applying the port-fire to the mortar, the explosion was so

loud that the whole of us felt completely stunned, and at the same instant we were struck by a shower of small gravel stones, which bruised us slightly; almost every one of the artillerymen round the mortar were knocked down, without, however, receiving any severe injuries. Upon inquiry, we learnt that a cast-iron thirteen-inch mortar had burst into a thousand pieces, and had been scattered to a considerable distance.

Dr. Charles Hutton was my father's neighbour in the Warren, and through some petty event, no uncommon occurrence betwixt persons residing in adjacent houses, visiting had been suspended, and an unpleasant feeling towards each other existed. Lieutenant Koehler, of the Royal Artillery, was at this time, 1786, quartered at Woolwich, and had long before then been an almost daily visitor. My father was permitted by the Master-General of the Ordnance to give private instruction in fortification and artillery to gentlemen, either in the army or preparing for a commission in the line; and amongst several others, the celebrated Lord Edward Fitzgerald attended for that purpose

during the summer of 1786. The frequent visits of Lieutenant Koehler brought about an intimacy betwixt him and Lord Edward.

As Koehler was one day walking with Lord Edward in the garden, they began repeating the following doggrel to some tune of their own :

“The foolish Hutton,  
He must be a glutton,  
For he stole the mutton,  
The foolish Hutton,  
The foolish Hutton!”

This was overheard by the learned Doctor, and brought on some very disagreeable and totally unsatisfactory explanations.

Prince Rupert's Tower stood in my father's garden, distant only thirteen feet from the southern end of the building, erected by the architect Vanburgh, and then used for the upper class of the Royal Military Academy. It had for some time been considered unsafe, and was at last ordered to be taken down. The tower was eighty-three feet high, was built of red bricks, forming six stories, and the circumference was exactly equal to the height. On one occasion, during a very strong gale from the



south-west, I was standing at the door of my father's house, when I fancied I could perceive Prince Rupert's Tower rocking to and fro. I mentioned this to my father, who, at first, treated my scientific observation with disregard; but I pressed the subject so much, that in order to determine the fact, he went up to the highest room in the tower, of which he had possession for his philosophical instruments; and by suspending a plummet to the ceiling, he ascertained that the tower actually did rock backwards and forwards, five inches and one quarter, or a little more than two inches and a half each way.

In this building lived and died, in a state of great poverty, the widow of the celebrated Simpson, who so ably revised the "Elements of Euclid." Mrs. Simpson was, at the time of her death (in 1784), upwards of one hundred years of age. Her son, a poor tailor, and his wife, with whom the old lady had resided, remained in the tower until the period of its demolition. It was one of a chain of towers, which had been erected on the southern side of the Thames; and as the sides of the top apartment were formed

almost entirely of windows, it was conjectured that these buildings were used for telegraphic purposes. I have seen the remains of two others ; one, consisting of the lowest room only, and covered with a roof, was in a garden near the western extremity of the present Powis Street, at Woolwich ; and the other, also reduced to one floor, and roofed, was situated a mile or more to the eastward of Plumstead Church, and was occupied by a farmer. It is by no means improbable that the remains of several others might be discovered or traced along the course of the Thames. A very perfect model of Prince Rupert's Tower was made for my father by the Ordnance modeller, Mr. Short (a man six feet four inches high), prior to its destruction, which left not one brick of its foundations standing. I have lately presented this model to the United Service Institution.

Several very antique bottles were taken out of a cavity which may have served as a cellar ; but the liquid they contained, in no way resembled any kind of spirituous liquor : I had many of them some years since, and still retain two.

It was not long after this time, that George

III. was first very severely indisposed, and that Doctors Willis and Fordyce were the physicians who attended on his Majesty, and who effected his restoration to health.

It was also at about the same period that the great Lord Heathfield, who had so gallantly defended the fortress of Gibraltar, against the combined efforts of France and Spain, was suffering under a severe paralytic affection of his left side. His Lordship occupied a house at Turnham Green, on the left. The hero of Gibraltar, having contracted a great regard and friendship towards my father, my family were often invited to pass a few days at his Lordship's residence. I was at Turnham Green on the memorable 23rd of April, 1789, when George III. attended by the royal family and nearly all the nobility of the United Kingdom, went in full state to St. Paul's Cathedral, to return thanks to the Almighty for his happy restoration to health, after his severe indisposition. Lord Heathfield joined the procession. This important event was celebrated in an appropriate manner throughout the British Islands. At Turnham Green,

Lord Heathfield had been engaged in making preparations for a public manifestation of rejoicing during some weeks; a party of the Royal Artillery, selected as the best fire-work makers, were employed in arranging the rockets and disposing of a collection of wheels, maroons, &c., but more particularly in manufacturing a large fire-ball to be erected on a strong iron pole, and placed on the top of the house. This fire-ball was in every respect similar to those used at Gibraltar during the last siege, to illuminate the approaches to the Rock, and to render the works of the enemy so clearly seen from the fortress as to enable the artillery to keep up a destructive fire during the darkest nights. These men were also occupied in making various experiments for lighting all the lamps for some large and well-executed transparent paintings by one train; cotton-wicks dipped in spirits of turpentine leading from lamp to lamp, were cleverly arranged; ultimately communicating with the grand fire-ball which was three to four feet in diameter. Much care was required amongst so much fire to guard against

the danger of destroying the premises ; in consequence of which two fire-engines were procured, and kept in constant readiness to act in case of need.

At two o'clock of the morning, an ox with gilt horns, stuffed full with potatoes, was spitted and placed between two fires in a shed erected for the purpose on the middle of the green in front of the house ; and during the afternoon several butts of beer were distributed to all who applied for it. The pressure of the crowd surrounding the beer-casks was very great, apparently they had never before felt so much thirst ; but amongst them one man in particular became so impatient to procure his share, that he contrived to raise himself up and actually succeeded in getting on to the shoulders of the mob, when every one, anxious to rid himself of the burthen, pushed him upon the man before him ; at last he was bundled into the open cask of beer, but was instantly saved from drowning in the too valuable liquid. After this, I observed an old woman running off with a coal-heaver's slouch hat, carrying it with its two sides folded together resembling a rush hand-basket, which

she had been so fortunate as to get filled with beer. My father made an etching of the scene, of which he distributed copies amongst his friends, and sent twenty of them to Lord Heathfield.

Between five and six of the evening of the day, whilst we were at dinner, the King passed along the high road on the opposite side of the green, on his return to Kew ; upon which, as had been previously arranged, a royal salute was commenced on the top of the house with maroons. The loud reports called us all to the stone platform at the front of the house ; and whilst Lord Heathfield, who had been wheeled in his chair to the door, was waving his hat to his Majesty, who had ordered his carriage to be stopped, and was leaning out of the carriage window, bowing and waving his hat in acknowledgment of the compliment, a large piece of the parapet-wall coping was thrown down by the repeated explosions : it fell to the ground with great force, grazing the left arm of his Lordship, but doing him no further injury. On returning to the dinner-table, he seized a bottle of port wine,

filled a bumper, and standing up, enthusiastically exclaimed, "Here's to the health of my beloved King—George the Third, God bless him!"

The kindness of his Lordship in allowing Miss Mackay, daughter of the Quarter-Master of his regiment, to fill his library with kittens, produced a caricature, of which I possess a copy, exhibiting, "The cock of the Rock," as he was frequently denominated, sitting in an arm-chair, on a battery, with one foot bound up in flannels, supported on a footstool, surrounded by cats gambolling and playing many antics, to the great delight of the General, who is represented taking special interest in their pursuits; underneath is the title — "Once a man and twice a child."

I was once with his Lordship, when he stopped the carriage before the shop of a baker in Hammersmith. The master, an old man, immediately came out, and Lord Heathfield made inquiries respecting a boy, who, many years ago, had been at a neighbouring school, and used to buy hot rolls at this shop. The

baker, after a little reflection, recollected him, and related several anecdotes in his favour, not forgetting to add, however, that he left the place fourteen pence in his debt. Lord Heathfield having, with great emphasis, animadverted on this discreditable piece of intelligence, to the man's intense astonishment, acknowledged himself the "young Elliott," whose character had been so freely canvassed. Of course the debt was paid, with more than compound interest. His Lordship then asked to taste one of the rolls he had been in the habit of enjoying with such abundant relish. It was brought, a mouthful satisfied him, and he declared it vastly inferior to those that were made when he was a boy. The roll, however, was exactly of the same kind—the keen appetite of the schoolboy only had altered.

I remember a servant of Lord Heathfield being entrusted to bring home a valuable barometer, with strict injunctions against carelessness whilst the instrument was in his custody. Presently, the man made his appearance before his master without the barometer.

"I know you have broken it, you rascal, by



your look," exclaimed his Lordship, looking the footman sternly in the face.

"All to pieces, my Lord," replied the fellow, as if he had done something to be proud of. This impudence so amused his master, that after laughing heartily, he satisfied himself by telling the man to go to the ——, and took no further notice of the transaction.

My father and myself were, on the 7th of May, 1790, particularly invited to meet a large party, amongst whom were the Polish Ambassador and a Polish General, the celebrated General Roy, who commenced the great survey of England, Colonel Elliott, Lord Heathfield's only child, Captain Gunn, Sir William Fordyce, Doctor Curtis, Mr. Barclay, and several others; but Lord Heathfield having been detained in London, by the King, did not join the party until after the dinner was over.

Sir W. Fordyce now recommended his Lordship to go to Aix-la-Chapelle, to try the waters. Lord Heathfield pressed my father very anxiously to accompany him; but on applying for leave of absence from the Royal Military Academy, the Master-General of the

Ordinance refused his consent. On taking leave of us, his Lordship made to each a present of slight value, excepting the one to my mother, which was the broad crimson ribbon of the Grand Cross of the Bath—the first which his Lordship had worn on being knighted at Gibraltar. This relic is still in my possession.

At Aix-la-Chapelle, his Lordship met with a lady towards whom, in earlier days, he had felt much esteem, and probably sentiments of a more tender nature. Feeling himself rapidly sinking, and being anxious to provide for her future comforts, he offered to marry her, but died before the ceremony could be performed. Colonel Elliott of the ———, who was on bad terms with his father, succeeded to the title and entire property, with the exception of a few small legacies, one in particular amounting to six hundred pounds, to Lieutenant Koehler of the Royal Artillery, who had served his Lordship as aid-de-camp during the greater portion of the siege of Gibraltar. The Colonel became the second and last Lord of that name.

The great Lord Heathfield had his pecu-

liarities, as well as other great men. In those days, the cocked hat was worn by men of every rank and station in the army, as also by a vast number of civilians; and was properly a three-cornered hat, with all the sides turned up nearly alike, and all nearly equal in extent; the three cocks also were equally projecting: in short, they were very similar to the hats lately worn by the Greenwich and Chelsea pensioners, and to those which still adorn the wigged-coachmen, when driving to a levee or drawing-room. This hat Lord Heathfield wore quite square to the front, and so much pressed down over his eyebrows, that the edge rested on the bridge of his nose, which, by the bye, was very high, and somewhat resembling that of the Duke of Wellington. Lord Heathfield insisted on having the hat worn according to the above rule by every military man under his command.

One day, at Gibraltar, his Lordship met a private soldier with the cock of the hat, instead of pointing straight forward, directed almost perpendicularly into the air. The General very angrily threw back his own hat into a similar

position, and drawing himself up full in front of the soldier, exclaimed :

“There, Sir ; look at me, Sir ; don’t I look like a d—d blackguard ?”

The soldier, who had been too well disciplined to contradict a Commander-in-Chief, replied, as he faced the General as upright as an arrow, his heels together, whilst his right hand showing the palm was placed across his forehead :

“Yes, and please your Excellency, to be sure you do.”

The severity which the General’s features had assumed instantly relaxed, and it was not without some effort that he suppressed a hearty laugh. He hastily dismissed the man, saying :

“Well, if you see the ill effect it has upon me, you cannot fail to be assured it must very badly suit you.”

## CHAPTER II.

Dr. Willis and George III.—Mrs. Burton, 21, Upper Brook Street—Mons. Tremblé—La Chevalière D'Eon—St. George and Mollard—Astley's circus—Woolwich—The Artillery—Lieutenant Sutton—Lord Eardly—The Princesse de Lamballe—Serjeant Bell and his inventions—The Royal George—At school at Dr. Egan's—Robberies on Blackheath—Paul Sandby—Major McLeod and Major Paterson.

DURING one of Sir W. Fordyce's visits at Turnham Green, he stated that neither Dr. Willis nor himself ever entered the presence of George III., during his Majesty's malady, without concealing their right hands under the left facing of their coats, in order to induce the King to suppose that they held some concealed weapon; thus exciting in their patient's mind a

strong degree of curiosity, and perhaps some fear.

During the summer of the year 1789, my mother, my sister, and myself were invited to pass a week with Mrs. Burton, at No. 21, Upper Brook Street, Grosvenor Square. Mrs. Burton was the widow of a general officer, having but one daughter, an only child, and was in affluent circumstances. Her greatest satisfaction was to see her table daily surrounded by her friends, and acquaintances; several of them, almost constant attendants, having received a general invitation. Amongst the latter, was a French gentleman, a Monsieur Tremblé, who was not only a decided epicure, but also a gastronomist of the first order. His dress consisted of a pea-green coat, white satin waistcoat, black satin shorts, and white silk stockings, with a very broad laced frill to his shirt; whilst his hair frizzed up a quarter of a yard high, with two rows of curls over his ears, leaving a space behind sufficiently wide to admit of a graceful queue—the whole abundantly powdered, as also his coat over the shoulders, and back, half way to the bottom of his waist.

I recollect to have seen Monsieur Tremblé, a very thin mahogany-faced man, whose age must have been between sixty and seventy, and who was so privileged, that he would frequently stop the dishes of the course embracing the stews and ragouts, one by one as the servants were removing them, exclaiming with much warmth :

“ I have not yet taste any of does dishes. Pray, put dem down here, close to my plate, dat will derange nothing ;” thus sometimes gathering round his plate five or six dishes ; and Monsieur Tremblé never failed to investigate their respective merits, commenting on them without reserve.

It was here, and on this occasion, that I had the advantage of dining in company with the celebrated and far-famed Chevalière D'Eon, on the 25th July, 1789. *She*—or perhaps *he*, for it has been seriously doubted which is the correct pronoun—was dressed in the female costume, composed of a black silk gown, made of a moderate height, above which, in front, rose a well puffed-up white muslin kerchief, covering a double bustle before, instead of one

behind; and on *her* head—to be consistent with the dress—she wore a high muslin cap, with the broad muslin frill hanging down to her shoulders, exactly resembling those at present worn by the country women in the northern provinces of France. From the upper edge of her gown, on the left side, was suspended the small Cross of St. Louis,—‘the constant companion of her person.’ Her voice was gruff, and as strong as that of a grenadier; her complexion decidedly brown: in short, she had every appearance of a man in a woman’s apparel.

During the dinner she spoke but little; yet when the ladies retired, La Chevalière reseated herself, and drawing up her chair to the table, said, as one released from much restraint: “Come, now that the women are gone, we may enjoy a little rational conversation.” War, battles, sieges and skirmishes, soon became her favourite topics: and I have a most perfect recollection of her saying, in reply to some one who had related the measures adopted for the purpose of bursting open the gates of a fortress: “Braquez-moi là deux pièces de quarante-huit



à bout touchant, et f—tre, je vous fais bien sauter les portes en trois coups.” Such were the identical words used on that occasion by Madame la Chevalière D'Eon.

At this period La Chevalière mixed in the best society; but two or three years afterwards she fell into disrepute, by exhibiting herself on the public stage, to fence with the celebrated St. George, a man of colour, by far the most expert swordsman of his day.

St. George, some time after this, dined at my father's house, at Woolwich, and Monsieur Mollard, the fencing-master of the Royal Military Academy, together with a select party of Artillery officers, were invited to meet him. During the afternoon St. George and Mollard were requested to gratify the company with a *carte-and-tierce* in the garden. I must here note that Mollard was a very coarse vulgar fellow, who, I believe, had received the whole of his education as a private soldier among the *gens-d'armes* at Paris. These heroes of the foil immediately complied with the general wishes of the company; and after the *carte-and-tierce*, a little trial of skill was proposed by Mollard, and

most readily accepted by St. George. The howlings now sent forth by the belligerents strongly resembled the bellowings of wild beasts at feeding time; but which, I have reason to believe, was the ordinary practice with French fencers. The vast superiority of St. George's abilities was evident: but Mollard, having several times denied that the button of his antagonist's foil had touched him, the former called for a piece of chalk, and chalking the button of his foil, exclaimed:

“Now, Monsieur Mollard, you shall not have a chance of thus escaping.”

They fell to, again, neither of them in the pleasantest temper.

At the first lunge by Mollard, St. George parried it, instantly spun completely round upon his left heel, and then pinked Mollard on the breast before he had been able to recover his guard. This wonderful feat drew forth loud and reiterated applause from all the company: the chalked button had left a most unequivocal proof of St. George's superiority. The result was, as might have been anticipated: the fencing-master regularly beaten, in the presence of

several of his pupils, became exceedingly angry and violent, loudly proclaiming that it was an accident, and that St. George was in no degree his superior; to prove which, he immediately snapped off the button of his foil, calling furiously on his opponent to do the same.

“The show of blood,” said he, “shall decide who is the best swordsman; if you refuse, you are *un f—— poltron*.”

St. George, who had during some time previously experienced considerable difficulty in suppressing his irritated feelings, immediately accepted the challenge; but of course all such hostile proceedings were stopped by the company, although not without great resistance from the disputants.

Whilst on our visit at Mrs. Burton's she treated us to a visit to Astley's horsemanship. At the close of the performance, the old original Astley came forward, by no means a young man, mounted on the identical white horse which Lord Heathfield habitually rode at Gibraltar during the siege. His Lordship brought him to England, and made a present of him to Mr. Astley. Amidst the cheers and acclamations

of the audience, this animal was exhibited with Astley on his back, whilst close to his nose, and extending entirely across the amphitheatre, was a range of fireworks, forming the words, " God save the King," in letters about four feet high.

The population of Woolwich did not, before the war, which commenced in 1793, exceed five or six thousand; and the whole of the regiment of Royal Artillery was composed of four battalions; whilst the corps of Royal Engineers numbered only from seventy to seventy-five officers; and these, as also the Royal Artillery, were scattered throughout Great Britain and the colonies. Ireland, at that time, had a distinct body of Ordnance troops.

Of the inhabitants, although there were several very respectable, only three kept carriages: these were Squire Martin and Squire Bowater, both opulent or at least independent farmers, and a Mr. Whitman, who built a house on the northern declivity of Shooter's Hill, long since then inhabited by General Cuppage; in front of that house is a piece of water, which, owing to its peculiar position on the side of

the hill, appears out of level. None of the officers of Artillery or of the corps of Royal Engineers kept any carriages.

There was at this period a second Lieutenant of invalided Artillery of the name of Sutton, who attracted a good deal of public attention. He had lost a leg during the American war ; the amputation had been unavoidably performed so high up the thigh, that none of the artificial substitutes were applicable. Sutton was a most jovial companion ; he sang a capital bachelor's song, drank freely, and told the best stories in the very best manner. Of course his society was sought by all the *bons vivants*. His fame had spread far and wide, and Lord Eardly, of Belvidere, near Erith, never failed to invite him on every occasion when he had some good fellows to dine with him, and fully appreciated his fund of wit. Sutton's reputation did not long remain confined to Woolwich, Belvidere, &c. ; the Prince of Wales, at length, entertained a wish to hear Sutton sing some of his best and most piquant songs, and he, therefore, very soon found himself seated at the royal table. The pecuniary resources of our friend were quickly reduced

to zero; but that caused him little loss of rest: at last he found himself an inmate of the King's Bench Prison. Lord Eardly, who could not spare from his circle so valuable an auxiliary, hastened to purchase his emancipation; and, moreover, either his Lordship or some of his wealthy companions presented him with a very neat, very low phaeton and pair of beautiful white ponies. Sutton now dashed about in good style. The invitations to the Prince's table were more and more frequent, and again and again he visited the King's Bench Prison; his furniture, ponies and phaeton, &c., were scarcely ever free from seizure; but were always released by his munificent friends. Sutton often proclaimed, "a short life and a merry one for me," and his wish was to the letter fulfilled.

About the same period (1788), Madame la Princesse de Lamballe visited England; and as she was the especial favourite, and most intimate friend of the ill-fated Marie-Antoinette, Queen of France, she received every demonstration of respect and civility, from the Court of England. Amongst the numerous efforts to

gratify her, a grand review and field-day of the Royal Artillery was ordered to take place at Woolwich. Accordingly, on the morning appointed for this purpose, five royal carriages and four horses, and one with six horses, containing the Princess and suite, properly escorted, arrived in the barrack-field at Woolwich exactly at eleven o'clock. Nearly two thousand men of the Royal Artillery (every man that could be collected, even from Chatham and other distant parts), as also the company of gentlemen cadets, armed as privates, and serving as such, were posted on the right. The greater portion of these troops was accoutred as troops of the line—a sufficient number only to man six field-pieces being employed as artillery. I believe that Major Paterson was selected to take the command, in consequence of his possessing an exceedingly powerful voice.

On the arrival of the Princess, a salute of nineteen guns was fired, and the troops presented arms, by which time she had alighted and immediately advanced to the front, most gracefully acknowledging the compliment. Madame de Lamballe was a tall and very elegant woman ;

her movements were truly condescending. She was evidently very amiable; raising every one with whom she conversed to her own level, without, however, sinking from her proper position, or creating the slightest degree of familiarity. On the above occasion, she was dressed in a pale pink silk robe, with small hoops, and a train full five yards long, bordered by a very deep flounce, the extremity of which was borne by a young negro page, whose age might be from twelve to fifteen years; her hair was dressed so as to rise very high, well supplied with brown hair powder, *à la maréchale*, on the top of which was perched a white or pink silk hat, with many white ostrich feathers; but she wore no veil.

After the review, the party went to the Warren, there to witness some firing at the target, and to inspect the making of various fireworks, preparing of ammunition, &c., and, finally, to walk through the Royal Military Academies, then composed of two classes only, which occupied the two wings of an ancient building, designed and executed by the architect Vanburgh. In the upper academy, my



father, as Professor, received the Princess, and held a long conversation with her in the French language, which he spoke perfectly ; after which the Princess accepted of a neat *déjeuner* which my mother had prepared for her and suite ; upon which occasion I was presented to her with my sister. The Princess in the kindest manner took me by the hand, kissed me, and made me a present of her *bonbonnière*.

During some considerable time prior to the year 1789, the very clever Serjeant Bell, in the Royal Artillery, had displayed much ingenuity, having brought forward many curious and useful inventions and improvements in pieces of machinery, and implements connected with artillery matters. Among the first of these productions was a very expeditious mode of extracting a fusee from a shell, which answered the purpose most perfectly. The next was a scheme for blowing up the wreck of the "Royal George," which had been sunk at Spithead, Portsmouth, in 1782. Serjeant Bell felt so confident of being able to succeed in accomplishing that operation, that he offered to carry his project into effect, on condition that

the guns should be given to him as his reward. It was rejected ; and as many clever persons had declared that it would be impossible to ignite the gunpowder at so great a depth under water, Bell resolved on demonstrating practically that he was master of the subject, and that the objection raised presented no difficulty in his mind. Accordingly he placed a charge of fifty-four pounds of gunpowder in a box, which he deposited in a condemned vessel, sunk expressly in the Thames, at some distance below Woolwich, near Gallions, over which the tide rose so as to cover the charge with a depth of eighteen feet of water. These arrangements were all completed so as to allow of the experiment being made immediately after an examination of cadets, which took place on the 11th of July, 1789, at which were present the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance ; General Sir W. Green, the Chief Royal Engineer ; Colonels Morse and Dauban, of the Royal Engineers ; Major T. Blomefield, and Captain Fage, of the Royal Artillery ; Dr. Masculine, the Astronomer Royal ; and a vast concourse of officers of the Ordnance corps and others. The experiment

was attended with ample success ; the vessel was blown to pieces, which immediately floated, Under the place where the mine had exploded, the bed of the river was noticed at low water to have been excavated to the depth of several feet ; and I may add, as a curious circumstance, that an immense quantity of fish was found killed, even to the distance of half a mile from the place where the vessel had been destroyed. The whole of the particulars of this interesting event have long since been published by my father, in his work upon mines. Notwithstanding the satisfactory result of this exhibition, Serjeant Bell's reiterated assertions of his being sure of destroying, in the same way, the wreck of the "Royal George," which had, during about seven years prior to this time, incommoded the navigation of the outer harbour of Portsmouth, were disregarded, and the "Royal George" was suffered to remain undisturbed during another half century, when Major-General Pasley, of the Royal Engineers, accomplished that highly important service.

Soon after this, Bell exhibited a very simple and convenient method of passing a rope to a ship when grounded on rocks or sands at a short

distance from the shore. For this purpose, he constructed a small portable mortar, in order that it might be easily carried along the coast, or on the beach, to the nearest point to the vessel in distress, whence he fired a shot having a rope fastened to it. The shot being fired so as to pass over the vessel the rope fell upon her, where it could be immediately secured. Upon the same principle, Bell fired a carcass, to which several long chains with hooks were appended, in order to catch in the sails or rigging of an enemy's ship, so that as soon as it had fastened it would communicate its destructive fire.

In the latter part of the same year (1789), my father took a house on Blackheath, and I was sent daily to the school of which the Rev. Dr. Egan was the master; he was successor to his wife's father, Dr. Bakewell. The site of this school is close to the new church, at the corner of King Street, and is now converted into tea-gardens. During the two years that we sojourned at Blackheath, robberies on Shooter's Hill, along the Charlton Park wall, the Lower Woolwich Road, and on Blackheath, were exceedingly frequent; they were sometimes

perpetrated in broad daylight, and even in the midst of a large concourse of people.

One Sunday afternoon, towards the close of a sultry summer's day, I was with the other members of my family promenading on Chesterfield Walk, where a considerable assemblage of the well-dressed inhabitants of the vicinity usually met every evening, after an early dinner, when our attention was suddenly claimed by a general rush of the company towards the southern extremity of the walk; and in an instant afterwards, every face was turned in the direction of the Green Man Tavern, and every right hand was raised, pointing to a man on a horse at full speed, who was making the utmost haste on the road to London, all exclaiming: "There he goes—there he goes—there—there—do you see him—there, that's he—there, he's gone," as the gentleman, in a hurry, descended the hill leading to the lime-kilns.

It is necessary here to explain that, at the south-west angle of the park, there stood a very good house, exactly within the wall, which had a terrace extending into the angle, so much higher than the ground on the outside, that the

top of the wall was at a convenient height for a person to sit upon it, whilst on the outside it was at least seven or eight feet high. On this memorable evening, the gentleman who rented the house, invited by the beautiful scenery and refreshing coolness of the evening had, without hat or stick, taken his book into the garden, and seated himself on the angle of the park-wall. Whilst in this position, actually in the midst of the promenaders, a gentleman mounted on a handsome horse, but little inferior to a hunter, rode up to him, and with the utmost familiarity addressing him by his name, said :

“ How are you, my dear fellow ? what a long time it is since you have given me a call ; come and dine with me to-morrow ; you will meet some good fellows.”

By this time, the horseman had closely approached the gentleman on the wall, who, however, did not answer his recognition. The former then drew forth a pistol, and pointing it at his head, declared in a subdued voice that, if he did not instantly hand out his watch, purse, &c., he should be under the very unpleasant necessity of scattering his brains amongst the

rose-bushes behind him. Frightened out of his presence of mind, the victim instantly handed over his valuables, and the thief declaring aloud that he was a “d—d good fellow,” cantered off.

In a few seconds, the gentleman recovered from his fright sufficiently to roar out to those nearest to him. “Stop thief—stop thief! he has robbed me.”

The consternation which this daring act created amongst the multitude that congregated to learn the meaning of these singular exclamations, had scarcely subsided, when a post-chaise, containing two gentlemen and one lady, with a man-servant on the bar in front, on their way to London, stopped on the high road just opposite to the celebrated southwestern angle of the park, when they all at the same time hailed us, announcing that they had just been robbed near the Rising Sun, by four armed men on foot.

It was but a short time after these impudent acts had been committed so successfully, that the well-known Paul Sandby, who was Landscape Drawing-Master to the Royal Military

Academy, was returning to London in a post-chaise, after giving his usual lessons to the cadets of four hours, one Saturday morning, having his daughter with him : just on arriving at the south-eastern angle of Greenwich Park wall, the chaise was stopped by a single robber, at one o'clock in the day time, and both himself and daughter lost their watches and money. Miss Sandby was so much discomposed by the alarm she had suffered, that her father brought her to my father's house in Sot's Hole, now Conduit Vale, on Blackheath ; and on entering he declared his intention to spare no expense nor exertion in endeavouring to bring the villain to justice ; yet he was soon deterred from following up that intention on being informed that if he mentioned the event, and the thief should be caught, he would, most probably, be compelled to prosecute, which might cost him £80 or £100, without any certainty of recovering the stolen property. Sandby agreed that the most prudent course would be to keep the robbery a secret.

Major and Lady Emily Macleod, of the Royal Artillery, who resided upon Woolwich Common,



were returning home in a post-chaise, probably from London, and were crossing the Common from Charlton Park, by the road along the deep ditch separating the barrack-field from the Common. The heat of the day had been very oppressive, and Lady Emily had felt somewhat faint, which induced her Ladyship to have frequent recourse to a bottle of Cologne water. When within two or three hundred yards of home, a well-mounted highwayman commanded the driver to stop, or have his brains blown out—a hint very rarely disregarded. The robber presented his pistol in the usual way, and with extraordinary politeness claimed watches, trinkets, pocket-books and purses, under pain of immediate death in case of refusal. The muzzle of the pistol was thrust into the carriage, almost touching Lady Emily Macleod's face, and had well-nigh caused her Ladyship to faint; but the Major's nerves were of sterner stuff: he seized the Cologne water bottle, and ramming it into the highwayman's face, declared in a voice of thunder, that he would instantly shoot him if he did not take himself off. The highwayman fancying a pistol was at his head,

turned his horse round, and spurred off in the direction of London.

Although not a week passed over without some robbery, particularly on the lower road to Woolwich and in Hanging Wood, very few murders were committed.

Blackheath, at this period, was a favourite place for reviewing both horse and foot regiments. On one of these occasions, Major Paterson of the Artillery, a very rough muscular man, was present at a review, as a spectator only, when he found it necessary to take off one of his boots; and, for that purpose, rode up to a hedge bordering the eastern side of the heath, not more than one hundred yards distant from the throng surrounding the troops. He had no sooner released his foot from the boot than a well dressed man, also well mounted, accosted him with the outward demonstrations of an old acquaintance. In a moment, however, out came the pistol with the usual application for watch, money, &c. The thief, having secured his plunder, rode off at full gallop—perhaps no further than the opposite side of the reviewing ground, where, mixing with the spectators, he

was perfectly secure from detection. The Paymaster to the Royal Artillery, Mr. Adair, of Spring Gardens, London, was obliged to send to Woolwich every month the subsistence or pay for the Royal Artillery stationed at that place, which amounted to a sum of between two and three thousand pounds, under an escort of Artillery soldiers, consisting of a non-commissioned officer and six privates: three of the latter walked on each side of the post-chaise carrying the treasure in charge of a pay clerk, and the non-commissioned officer marched in the rear, to see that the party were alert and discharged their duty; the whole having their bayonets fixed and their muskets loaded with ball. Whilst we resided on Blackheath during 1789, 1790 and 1791, I have a clear recollection of having seen this procession crossing the heath on its way towards Woolwich.

Highway robberies were committed almost with impunity on all the roads leading out of London over Hounslow Heath, Bagshot Heath, Wimbledon Common, Putney Heath, Hampstead Heath and Hanging Wood near Woolwich, and in every place at all retired. There

was also robbing of another kind carried on with equal success by picking pockets. Amongst the professors of this art was the celebrated Barington who surpassed all his cotemporaries in expertness.

## CHAPTER III.

Exeter Change — Duke of Richmond's house burnt down—Colonel Johnstone—Tom Paine burnt in effigy—Dr. John Hunter—Dr. Manedoc—Captain Nutting—The Author admitted a cadet—Lectures on Chemistry—Tongue of a Prussian cat—Ford's trick at Brighton—At Aix-la-Chapelle—On board a transport—The easterly wind at Dover.

MY father agreed to take me to the menagerie at Exeter Change. I must here state, that this peculiar place commenced nearly opposite the opening from the Strand leading to Waterloo Bridge; it thence extended one hundred to one hundred and thirty feet towards Charing Cross, and consisted of a covered passage with stalls on each side, where cutlery, perfumery, and toys were sold, chiefly exhibited under glass cases; and latterly some

saddlery, &c. The place was gloomy, dirty and badly paved, and possessed no real merits excepting that, during a shower of rain, it provided a shelter to the pedestrian. All persons who purchased any article, in the passage, of the value of one shilling or more, received a free ticket of admission to the menagerie, without which, sixpence was the entrance money.

After passing over Westminster Bridge and turning into Parliament Street, we were compelled to leave the coach, the way being completely blockaded by a dense mob, which was attracted by the conflagration of Richmond House. This building was the town residence of his Grace of Richmond, and was a large old inelegant red brick house, which, together with its surrounding gardens, occupied a very extensive piece of ground, now the site of Richmond Terrace. During the commencement of the fire it was rumoured that, in the hurry of escaping from the flames, a lady named Mademoiselle Le Clère, who resided with the Duke's family, had neglected to carry away with her a favourite lap-dog, which, being mentioned to some of the soldiers, one of them immediately

sought Mademoiselle, and, having ascertained the window of her room, procured a ladder and succeeded in saving the dog: he was rewarded with a present of ten guineas. Having gazed on the still smoking ruins, my father and myself proceeded to Exeter Change.

In order that I might be in the fullest fashion of the times for boys, on the night previous to this great treat, my hair, which was a foot long at least, was plaited in five or six tails, all round my head, so that, on the following morning on opening these plaits and combing out the hair, it formed a complete furze-bush from near the crown of my head quite over my shoulders; on beholding myself in the glass, I was remarkably well pleased with my appearance.

The apartments containing the menagerie were exceedingly confined and dangerously crowded by the cages for the animals. On one side, were the large beasts in strongly grated compartments; the lion at the end, and next to him the tiger; then followed the hyenas, leopards, and some very large monkeys or baboons; whilst on the side facing, there were a number of the inferior animals, some in cages,

but a great many of them merely chained to a sort of table; amongst these were the blue-faced and smaller monkeys, otters, racoons, &c., leaving a space for the visitors much too narrow between them and the larger animals—I believe not more than ten to twelve feet. Having examined the birds near the entrance, and particularly the macaws (several of these birds were hung in the streets below, near the entrance), we advanced in the narrow walk to hear the lion, the show-master having proclaimed that he was about to make him roar; upon the animal extending his jaws, the keeper put his face as far into his mouth as he could reach, and began to roar down the lion's throat; which feat was considered the most interesting and boldest ever attempted.

In retreating from this exhibition, the tiger or leopard made a sudden leap at the bars of his cage, causing me to start backwards, which brought me within reach of the monkeys and other small animals that were chained to the table. The nearest of them instantly seized hold of my hair, and began pulling away with his utmost strength, endeavouring at the same time



to scratch out my eyes. Nothing could have saved me from suffering the severest injuries but the stout resistance I made.

My first scream was the signal for a general burst of the wildest uproar throughout the whole menagerie. The lion, with his mane erect, darted with surprising activity from end to end of his prison, lashing the bars with his tail, and thundering out his rage. The tiger sprang in all directions, repeatedly turning head over heels against the gratings, and making every effort to catch hold of me by thrusting his fore-legs out to their fullest extent, and evincing his severe disappointment on perceiving that he could only grasp the air with his claws. The leopards and hyenas in like manner manifested their eagerness to partake of the good fortune which they imagined had befallen the monkeys ; whilst immediately facing the spot where I was struggling to escape, was an immensely large black monkey or baboon, leaping from the bottom to the top of his cage, and exhibiting a state of rage which no one had on any former occasion witnessed. Their wild and harsh screeches excited the macaws, and parrots, pro-

ducing altogether such a deafening uproar of discordant sounds as no pen can describe.

My father laid about with his cane, and two or three of the keepers flogged away savagely with their long hunting-whips. Of course I was soon released ; but my face was covered with blood, issuing from numerous deep scratches, and my head was bleeding where the hair had been torn out, carrying with it pieces of skin as large as four-penny pieces. Notwithstanding my liberation, these ferocious creatures continued to exhibit such a state of insubordination that I was hurried away to the proprietor's room, in the hope, that by withdrawing me from their presence, tranquillity might be restored.

It must have been about this period (1789 or 1790), that many attempts were made to improve the air-balloon, and I believe that in this Lunardi and Blanchard were amongst the most successful. The former I recollect having seen pass over Woolwich with his balloon, carried northwards by a light air, and quickly afterwards descended, either accidentally or designedly, in the marshes, not far distant from

Barking. The people of Barking were regarded by the Woolwichers as a set of barbarians; and it was commonly believed by the inhabitants of the southern bank of the Thames, that the air of Barking was so insalubrious to women, that no female could survive a year's residence there. The falling of the balloon in the vicinity of such a people, was the signal for a general rush from every habitation upon the monster that appeared to them to have dropped from the skies. In less than half an hour it was torn into a thousand pieces, which were carried away as so many banners waving upon sticks; and Lunardi might have been awfully maltreated, had not a number of persons from Woolwich come to his rescue. I saw Lunardi land at the Warren Wharf, accompanied by several officers of the Artillery, after his escape from the Barking savages; and he was still shivering with cold, occasioned by the low temperature of the lofty regions through which he had passed, although we, upon earth, had been all day complaining of the heat of the weather. He was taken to dine at the Artillery mess.

A few years after this, his death was announced in the newspapers, in the following

terms: "Poor Lunardi's dead! and what's more extraordinary, he died in his bed."

The spirit of republicanism, which made considerable progress throughout the British Isles soon after the outburst of the great French Revolution, had now (1792) assumed an alarming aspect. The publications of the notorious Tom Paine, entitled, "The Rights of Man," "The Age of Reason," and various others, were widely circulated, and failed not to poison the minds of a vast multitude, chiefly of the lowest and worst-disposed of the people. Towards the close of the year, the press teemed with pamphlets of a similar tendency, which ultimately produced, in every part of the country, revolutionary meetings, both within doors and in the open air, whereat sedition and treason were boldly recommended.

The people of Woolwich, loyal to a man, held counter-meetings where their loyalty and attachment to the existing Government and royal family were loudly and fearlessly proclaimed; and it was thought expedient to call on persons of all ranks, even those holding Government appointments, residing at Woolwich, that they might record their sentiments

by signing a declaration of their attachment to the King and Constitution; for that purpose, my father attended at Woolwich Church vestry, on the 27th of December, 1792. During the afternoon of the same day, the effigy of Tom Paine was dragged about the streets in a cart, his notorious book fastened in his hands, and escorted on each side by a chimney-sweeper, mounted on a donkey, flourishing a wooden sword; the procession was preceded by the drums and fifes of the Royal Artillery, alternately playing, "God Save the King," and the "Rogue's March." At about five o'clock in the evening it arrived at a spot, then an open field, between the Ship Tavern and Bowater House, and there, amidst an immense concourse of people, the effigy was hung up by the neck on a gibbet sixty feet high, round which was stacked up an immense bonfire containing many pitch or tar-barrels which were soon blazing.

About this time my mother had been suffering severely from ill health, and deriving no benefit from the advice of the Woolwich medical men, she resolved on consulting the celebrated John Hunter, who, after listening with some degree of patience to her narrative of all her sufferings,

remained silent during several minutes. At length, upon her asking him what he should recommend her to do, he very roughly said :

“ Why, Madam, I have nothing to recommend.”

“ Good God, Sir !” she cried, “ is there nothing then to be done ?”

“ No, Madam,” Hunter coldly replied.

“ But, Doctor, what will become of me ?”

“ Why, Madam, you must die ; your case is quite incurable.”

My mother could not restrain a flood of tears, upon which the Doctor rose from his chair, and ringing the bell, observed :

“ I cannot have my time wasted in this way ; you must retire, and make room for other patients, who are waiting their turn.”

Notwithstanding this awful sentence of death, pronounced by the cleverest surgeon of his day, my mother did not quit this world before the expiration of thirty-eight years after it had been uttered.

It was about the same period, that a Dr. Manedoc had acquired great celebrity in consequence of his having started upon an entirely

new system of curing every disease without the use of medicines, and without touching, nay, in some cases, without even seeing the patient. He was a rather good-looking man, between forty and fifty years of age, square built, and of middle stature ; his hair frizzed and queued, and abundantly powdered ; he wore a white satin waistcoat, white breeches, and white silk stockings ; his chocolate-coloured coat was lined with white silk, and the buttons very large, had a beautiful little painting on each covered with a glass, set in a gold rim. Such buttons were worn by persons of fashion, and cost from one to two guineas a-piece. On my mother being introduced, Dr. Manedoc rose majestically from an elegant French *fauteuil*, and presented a chair for her at the furthest end of the room. He made a few simple inquiries, after which, standing up, without approaching his patient, his left foot in front of the right, and both knees quite stiff, he regarded my mother with a serious look and rather stern manner, then begged of her to be perfectly calm, as he was about to operate. My mother, anything but calm, was silent ; she, however, kept her posi-

tion, looking the Doctor full in the face. Manedoc now raised his arms slowly, keeping them fully extended, the backs of his hands upwards, and nearly on a level with his face; his fingers were crooked, and pointed forwards, as one preparing to scratch: he occasionally moved them, and sometimes altered the position of his hands, but he never changed the direction of his arms. During this time his fingers were entirely engaged in pretending to feel various matters, as though calculating their weight; all the while carrying on a sort of communication in broken sentences, either with himself or some invisible being. Every now and then he kindly inquired of his patient how she felt, adding:

“I hope you do not feel alarmed. You may depend upon it, I am so perfectly acquainted with the anatomy of the human body, I shall not do the slightest injury to anything I touch.”

After a little more of this trash, he said:

“There now, Madam, do you not feel a very peculiar sensation in the upper part of the right side of your body? I am merely passing my hand



between your liver and the ribs ! I beg to assure you, I do not wish to cause you any more inconvenience than is absolutely necessary, in order that I may at once make myself completely master of your interesting, nay, I may with much propriety say, your very peculiar case."

At the expiration of about ten minutes, which Manedoc observed was double the time he could generally spare for each patient, he inquired how she was engaged for the following day. Fearing that he was meditating another visit, for the purpose of completing his mode of investigation, my mother said that she was under the most pressing necessity of leaving town early on the following morning.

"Oh !" said the quack, "you mistake my intention, if you think I wished you to call on me to-morrow ; but I was anxious to be informed if you will be at leisure between eleven and twelve o'clock to-morrow, as during a little trip which I must then take into the country, requiring that I should pass a few hours in my carriage, I might, if convenient to you, devote my attention to the further study of your case. Therefore, if quite agreeable to you, it shall be

at twelve minutes to thirteen minutes past eleven o'clock, up to fifteen minutes before twelve."

My mother paid the usual fee, but of course experienced no benefit from the impostor's treatment at the time he had appointed for a further investigation of her case.

Captain Nutting, of the Artillery, was a very early riser, and whilst quartered at Woolwich, he made it a practice to take a long walk before breakfast. On one of these occasions, he was walking on the high road to Dover, over Shooter's Hill, when he saw a white paper crumpled-up on the ground. On opening it, he discovered it to be a one thousand pounds Bank of England note. At a short distance further on, he found another note of the same amount. On extending his search he picked up four more. He very properly gave notice of his having found a large sum of money in Bank of England notes, and engaged to deliver them to any person who should give satisfactory evidence of being the proprietor; yet, strange as it may appear, they were never owned.

At thirteen years of age, when called upon to

pass the examination for admission into the Royal Military Academy, then almost nominal, (for it extended no further than the rule-of-three-of-vulgar-fractions), I had completed the whole course required for obtaining a commission, as an officer, in either of the Ordnance corps, and which at that period was as follows: in fortification, the three first systems of Vauban, with Cohorn's and Cormartagne's systems, the attack and defence of fortified places and field fortifications, embracing mining and counter-mining, as also estimating. In artillery, the construction of all the various pieces of ordnance, both of iron and brass guns, howitzers, mortars and carronades, and their respective garrison and travelling carriages and beds, all in great detail. In mathematics, the whole of practical geometry, solids and conic sections, the first six books of Euclid, square and cube-root, mensuration, logarithms, trigonometry, and algebra, as far as simple and quadratic equations. To these should be added landscape painting in water-colours, and map drawing, representing the irregular surface of the country, and some knowledge of the French language.

Amongst the numerous branches of education taught the cadets, in addition to the above, were chemistry, dancing, fencing, and drilling to the use of the musket, and the management of field-guns, &c. These, together with the other studies, pretty nearly filled up the whole of the day, from eight o'clock in the morning until the same hour in the evening, and was really more than my delicate state of health could endure. In consideration of that circumstance, I was permitted to employ the hours devoted to lectures on chemistry (after the first course) in walking exercise, and this was the more readily granted as I had attended two courses prior to my being a cadet.

Whilst mentioning this subject, it may be as well to state here, that Lieutenant-Colonel Stehelin, of the Royal Artillery, was at this time the Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military Academy; Captain-Lieutenant Burslem, and Lieutenants Godfrey, Write and Spicer, were the military officers; whilst Captain Phipps, a retired officer of the corps of Royal Engineers, was the inspector of the studies. Dr. Crawford lectured on chemistry, and Mr. Cruikshanks was

his assistant. The Doctor was most unassuming, very kind, gentlemanly and reserved in his manners: he was tall, thin, very pale, exceedingly delicate in health, and never took any animal food. Cruikshanks, *alias* Black-jack, as the cadets had named him, was short, wide-shouldered, thick-set; had a large head, covered with long curly black hair, very dark complexion, short-necked, his shoulders high, his face cast downwards, and invariably looking through his very bushy eyebrows; he was, moreover, habitually rough in his manners but not rude; although he had received no polish, he was a very clever chemist, and consequently a useful assistant to the lecturer.

These lectures were delivered in the laboratory in the Warren; and the arrangement was, that the entire room, which was rather long, was divided into two unequal parts by a table which extended transversely, almost quite across, leaving no more space at each end than was sufficient for two persons to be there seated. Dr. Crawford stood up at the middle facing the audience, who occupied ranges of seats rising amphitheatrically to the furthest end of the

room, where the cadets entered. Behind Crawford were the various furnaces, sand-baths, forges, tanks, stills, &c., &c.; these being under the immediate care and working of Serjeant Robinson, of the Artillery, and clerk to the inspector. During the lectures, Lieutenant-Colonel Stehelin never failed to be present, and occupied a seat at one end of the long table; and his son, a Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, and during some time one of the officers attached to the company of gentlemen cadets, had possession of the other end by the side of Cruikshanks.

In the course of the lectures, particularly when on the subject of minerals, it was thought useful to exhibit specimens of many of these substances; and in order that they might be more perfectly examined by the audience, they were handed first to the Lieutenant-Governor, who, after inspecting them, passed them on to the nearest of the cadets, whence each specimen went round until it was returned to the table at the end where Mr. Cruikshanks and Lieutenant Stehelin were seated. Such were the arrangements about the year 1790 or 1791, when Mr. Ford (afterwards a Major-General of Royal

Engineers and Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military Academy), was pursuing his studies, as a cadet, in the said institution; and on one occasion, whilst attending the lectures on chemistry, he discovered that under the bench upon which he was seated, there was growing a fungus of large dimensions. In a moment, by the aid of his pocket-knife, he cut out a piece about two inches wide, and, perhaps, eight inches in length—the root remaining fastened at one end, whilst the other was cut to a sharp point: the colour was not very unlike that of a well-fried pancake. This strange-looking specimen was, in imitation of all the others that had been handed about, placed on a piece of white paper and labelled: “The Tongue of a Prussian Cat.” It was sent forward in the direction all the curious specimens had been made to follow, so that in due course it arrived at the end of the table occupied by Cruikshanks and Lieutenant Stehelin, without having passed through the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor. Here Cruikshanks was rather surprised, he looked at the specimen, held it up in all positions, muttered a few words to Lieu-

tenant Stehelin, who was also much perplexed. At this moment, Dr. Crawford's attention was attracted to the spot. Lieutenant-Colonel Stehelin was rather deaf. The Lieutenant-Governor did not understand the explanation he received, repeated his inquiries, and the specimen was handed to him. He complained at first, of its not having been submitted to him before it went the round of the students; then, with an air of perplexity, inquired how it had been obtained, adding: "What sort of cats have they in Prussia? Can this be the tongue of the house cat? Have you ever seen one alive? or have you the skin of one? They must be of most extraordinary dimensions."

In this strain he went on, asking every question that suggested itself to his mind, without listening to the Doctor, who all that time endeavoured to explain; when the Doctor at length said: "It is a joke, Sir,—it is a harmless bit of wit,—very innocent indeed, Colonel."

"What do you say?" exclaimed the Lieutenant-Governor, whose confusion of ideas had greatly increased his ordinary deafness, "what



do you say? the animal is harmless? is full of wit? and quite innocent? I don't understand how such properties can belong to a Prussian cat more than to any other cat in the world? Why, they must be a very peculiar sort of cats. Pray tell me of what colour they are?"

The Lieutenant-Governor went on in this way, shutting his ears against every attempt at an explanation, while every one else present was laughing immoderately, which by no means paved the way for his taking a dispassionate view of the subject. At length, after considerable exertion on the part of his son, Dr. Crawford and Mr. Cruikshanks, his eyes were suddenly opened to the joke. He rose from his chair, and having called out "Silence!" with a loud and authoritative tone of voice, insisted on being instantly informed of the name of the individual who had been guilty of so gross an insult, not only as regarded himself, but, signally, towards the highly respectable lecturer, Dr. Crawford. A general silence prevailed. After a few minutes, having duly considered the fittest course to be pursued, he ordered the whole of the cadets to be marched off to their

barracks, and there to remain under arrest until further orders! On the following morning, Mr. Ford acknowledged his offence, made an appropriate apology, promising never to do so again, and it was looked over.

Ford, having obtained a commission, at first, in the Royal Artillery, was ordered to join the grand camp formed near Brighthelmstone, now Brighton, at the commencement of the war with France, under the command of the great Duke of Richmond. Here, in 1793, about ten thousand men were assembled under canvas, to be drilled and practised in marching and manœuvring upon a great scale, sham fighting, &c., in order to qualify them for entering upon active warfare with credit to themselves, and honour and profit to their King and country. On Ford's arrival at the camp, he soon discovered that a young second Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery was a very inferior personage to a general officer.

On the following day, Ford compiled a list of all the general officers, and their respective aides-de-camp, and of all the other staff officers then with the army; and to each of them, ex-

cepting his Grace the Commander-in-Chief, he sent a card, soliciting the honour of his company on that day week, at nine o'clock, to partake of a humble supper ! Persons were now appointed to ferret out all that could be known about that Lieutenant Ford, whom nobody knew. They reported, that although he was not in the enjoyment of a fortune, he was one of the wittiest and most entertaining fellows in the world. On the morning of the important day, a number of men were observed engaged in laying a very extensive boarded floor, which was shortly afterwards covered by an immense large tent ; and tables and benches, &c., in abundance attracted general notice, as they were seen to be concentrating towards the same spot ; whilst the master was unceasing in activity ; was here, was there, was everywhere, from the mess kitchen to his own tent, and thence to the great tent, superintending and directing the vast preparations.

As the hour advanced towards nine, the various lamps suspended in the tent were lighted ; and soon afterwards, each general, attended by his personal staff, began to assemble. As no one came forward to receive the company, they

anxiously, and indeed hastily inquired of one another for their host.

“By your leave, gentlemen, if you please,” was uttered near the door, by a man wearing on his head a white cotton night-cap, and having on no other clothing than a shirt, white shorts and stockings, with well-polished shoes and buckles. He carried a very large dish piled up with apple dumplings, and was followed by two servants in livery, also bearers of dishes of apple dumplings. The man with the white night-cap hastily slapped his dish on the table, and uncovering his head made a bow to the company, declaring that he felt most highly gratified by the honour which so many officers of the highest rank had conferred on him, by condescending to partake of the humble fare of a poor subaltern.

“Pray, gentlemen, sit down,” he added. “Without throwing upon me the awful responsibility of selecting the exact place which each officer, according to his rank and seniority, has a right to occupy; you cannot expect that I should be able to discharge a task so difficult, without incurring the certainty of failure.”

His guests seated themselves in no slight

astonishment as he took the chair at the head of the table, upon which were the three dishes of apple dumplings, flanked by a dozen of pewter pint-pots, filled with malt liquor, with knives, forks, and plates of various dimensions, colours and patterns.

It would be quite impossible to follow our friend through all the quaint and truly ridiculous observations he made on the want of appetite which every one manifested whom he was pressing to taste of the dumplings, the vast change which an active campaign would effect on such delicate palates, &c. ; all of which was most cleverly managed, so as to avoid any personal offence. Finally, in order to excite their curiosity, he assured them that he had made the apple dumplings himself, boiled them in his own night-caps, and that they were superior in flavour to any other apple dumplings that had ever been eaten. Notwithstanding this inviting explanation, he received the general assurance that his guests never ate suppers ; some began to consult their watches, exchanging, at the same time, significant looks with those sitting on the opposite side of the table. The

Lieutenant turned quickly to one of the servants, and ordered him to run with all speed to the mess-man, and endeavour to procure some cold meat, or anything else, pronouncing the latter sentence with great emphasis; and then looking towards the company, as he rubbed his hands together between his knees, and shrugging up his shoulders, he exclaimed: “*Je suis au désespoir.*”

On hearing these instructions, every voice was raised, entreating that the order might be rescinded, some even absolutely forbid the man's obedience to his master's commands; but it was too late: the table was in an instant cleared of its vulgar materials, and presently a train of ten to twenty servants entered in procession, when like magic, the table was covered with every delicacy of the season, together with champagne, burgundy, sauterne, and the choicest wines. A most extraordinary alteration took place in every countenance: the gentlemen who never ate suppers, proved that it was a custom from which they could deviate; in short, the surprise every one experienced relaxed the muscles of the severest disciplinarian, and all to a man joined in the most unrestrained hilarity.

By whistling, for which he was celebrated, singing unheard-of songs, and telling the most extraordinary stories, Ford made himself so entertaining that evening, that afterwards he was invited everywhere; indeed no party was thought complete unless he was of the number.

In the course of the following year, Ford removed from the Artillery to the corps of Royal Engineers, and soon afterwards was attached to the army in Flanders, under his Royal Highness the Duke of York. At the siege of Valenciennes, when the troops rushed forward to seize the covert-way, Ford went in with his horse, taking a tremendous leap from the crest of the glacis—probably at some place where the palisading had been destroyed.

Ford visited Aix-la-Chapelle, where, in the public gardens, there is a high mount. He caused his arrival to be announced to the public, and that on the following Sunday he should dress on the top of the said mount at that hour, when the promenade was most crowded. At the time appointed, a toilet-table was noticed on the elevated pinnacle, and in due time Ford came forth, having on a white waistcoat and shorts,

white silk stockings and shoes, with brilliant buckles, and over all a rich silk dressing-gown. Having bowed in a most condescending manner to the gazing multitude, he seated himself at the toilet-table, when the barber commenced his performances; he then washed his face, hands and teeth, put on a handsome laced cravat, and descended majestically. The company received him with cheers and congratulations, every one pressing round him to obtain a perfect view of such an extraordinary man.

With the expedition under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, Ford sailed for Egypt; and the officers embarked with him in the transport, considered themselves particularly fortunate.

He hailed a brig on a fine still morning:  
“Brig, a-hoy?”

“Ay, ay, Sir,” the skipper replied.

“Don’t you see that ha-em-no-for-why-is-so-go-no-in-same-maintop?”

The master of the brig unable to make out this important communication, and finding no one in the vessel capable of assisting him, replied: “I can’t hear what you say, Sir.”



Ford, after a pause, repeated the information ; this being just as intelligible as before, the master of the brig turned to the man at the helm : “ Port, there ; port your helm.”

“ Port it is, Sir.”

“ Now what is it you say, Sir ?”

When Ford, with the speaking-trumpet, retorted quickly and with great volubility, “ Don’t you see, how-now-so-he-why-flam-wap-there-maintop.”

The skipper looked up to the maintop, observing : “ What is it he says about the maintop ?”

“ I don’t see nothing the matter there, Sir,” was quickly replied.

“ Step up there, boy, and look about you !” The skipper growing impatient : “ Do you hear me, you young scamp ; what are you playing about with that rope’s end ? I’ll make it fit your back in a trice, you sculking fair-weather lubber.”

Up went the boy and hailed : “ Upon deck, there ; I don’t see nothing the miss, Sir.”

“ What is it you say ?” again inquired the

master of the brig. "I can't find nothing wrong in the main-top." Then turning to the man at the helm: "Port there."

"Port it is, Sir," was the reply.

"Hard-a-port."

"Hard-a-port it is, Sir."

And as the brig sheered up very near to the transport, with Ford standing on the hen-coops, his speaking-trumpet all ready, the master of the brig, fearful of shooting a-head, ordered: "Back the main-yard," by which the vessel was brought almost to a stand-still; upon which our skipper, leaning over the side, again repeated: "What do you say, Sir?"

The vessels were now too close to each other to admit of any misunderstanding, when Ford replied: "What do I say? Why—I say, that if I had another leg where your nose is, you'd run a d—d good washing-stool. Can you understand that?"

"What is that you say, you d—d," &c., &c., exclaimed the enraged skipper, and out came a broadside of abuse.

"Fill the main-yard—starboard your helm—up with it, do you hear? hard-a-starboard, do

you hear? D—n the fellow! I only wish I may catch him some dark night cruizing about at the back of the Point at Portsmouth, or even at the Barbican at Plymouth! I'm d—d if I wouldn't serve him out. He should have more than he could eat," &c.

Ford all this time was loudly hailing, and turning everything about the brig into ridicule. He compared her to a wash-tub, a dung-barge, a hog-trough; and in like manner he treated the master and mate, the crew, the sails and rigging; in short, they had never heard of such things. During the remainder of the voyage, the brig was never once again within hail of Ford.

General Twiss was the commanding engineer of the South or Sussex district. He was advanced in years, very gentlemanly, suffered much from rheumatism, and made periodical tours of inspection to enable him to report on the due progress of the works of fortification, constructing under the immediate direction of a number of officers of engineers stationed in the district, and principally along the coast of Sussex; and also that they were being executed in strict

conformity with the orders and plans approved of by the Master-General of the Ordnance. Twiss was very fond of Ford, and always received from him every possible mark of attention, invariably taking up his quarters at his house. On one occasion, the latter considered that some rather extensive deviation from the plans that had been furnished from Pall-Mall would be a great improvement. He ordered the alteration to be carried into effect with the utmost dispatch; but to his consternation, the General arrived unexpectedly, when the completion of Ford's works still required several days of activity. Ford had never yet exhausted his fund of wit, and quickly ordered the weathercock on the flag-staff to be nailed pointing east. At the usual hour for breakfast the next morning, the General entered the room evidently much dejected, exclaiming,

"There look," as he pointed to the vane, "there look—a due east wind; you know, I believe, that I dare not venture to expose myself to that deadly blast: it was at the same period last year, I think, that I was then held a

prisoner here during five or six days, wasn't it?"

"True," replied Ford; "I do recollect it was, now that you mention it; but we must endeavour to make you as comfortable as we can."

On the second, third, fourth and fifth days, the General suffered from that lowness of spirits which an easterly wind never failed to occasion him. By working night and day, Ford completed the alterations he had commenced prior to the arrival of the General; on the morning of the sixth day the vane pointed westerly. The General was in high spirits, free from all the distressing feelings caused by the opposite wind, made a good breakfast and sallied forth to inspect the works, repeating with much vivacity: "I am now quite a different creature."

On viewing the alterations, which were by that time perfectly finished, and the rubbish cleared away, the General observed: "Well this is, I must admit, a very capital improvement: but I don't know how I shall get over the want of an authority for its execution. You take great liberties, Master Ford." The General's report thereon protected Ford from censure.

This very clever, very amusing and excellent officer, in due course of time was appointed to be Lieutenant-Governor of the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, where he died a Major-General, universally esteemed and sincerely regretted.

## CHAPTER IV.

Captain Grose — Historical note on the early establishment of the regiment of Artillery — General Broom — The first panorama — Shower of frogs — Examination of Dubresney — Hutton, the mathematician.

ABOUT this time, I used occasionally to meet the celebrated Captain Grose. To amuse his friends, he often caricatured himself, commencing by drawing a perfect square; then he sketched his own figure within it, touching the four sides, showing that he was exactly as wide as he was high: upon which he would observe that he considered his extraordinary dimensions as fortunate, for he could have no more chance of falling down than an orange. Grose was a most amusing companion.

Having said so much about Woolwich and the Royal Artillery, it may not be uninteresting here to insert the copy of a memorandum I found amongst my father's papers, regarding the early history or construction of the Royal Artillery and company of Gentlemen Cadets ; which is as follows : “ In June 1753, the Royal Artillery was commanded by Colonel (Lieutenant-General Albert Borgard), Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Pattison, and Major Jonathan Lewis, with the following staff officers, viz., a chaplain, an adjutant, quarter-master, bridge-master, surgeon and mate.

“ The first who had a commission of Colonel of the Royal Artillery was Lieutenant-General Albert Borgard, dated 1st of November, 1727. The regiment was composed of four companies. The establishment of each company was one captain, one captain-lieutenant, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, three lieutenant's fire-workers, three serjeants, three corporals, eight bombardiers, twenty gunners, sixty-four matrosses and two drummers, making a total of one hundred and seven for each company.— The pay of the officers was the same as at



present (1783); that of the lieutenant's fire-workers three shillings per day, two shillings and threepence subsistence and ninepence arrears. The uniform dress of the officers was a plain blue coat, lined with scarlet, a large scarlet Argyle cuff, double-breasted and with yellow buttons to the bottom of the skirts; waistcoat and breeches—the waistcoat trimmed with a broad gold lace; and a gold laced cocked hat. The serjeants' coats were trimmed, the lappels, cuffs and pockets with a broad single gold lace; the corporals and bombardiers with a narrow single gold lace; the gunners and matrosses, plain blue coats; all the non-commissioned officers and privates having scarlet half lappels, scarlet cuffs and slashed sleeves, with five buttons on each, and blue waistcoats and breeches: the serjeants' hats were trimmed with a broad, and the non-commissioned officers and privates with a narrow, gold lace. White spatterdashes were then worn.

“ The regimental clothing was delivered to the non-commissioned officers and privates once a-year, excepting regimental coats, which they received only every alternate year, and the inter-

mediate year a coarse blue surtout, which served for laboratory-works, barrack duties, fatigues, &c., and was delivered with the usual small mountings.

“The arms of the officers were fusees without bayonets, and were not required to be uniform. The serjeants, corporals and bombardiers, were armed with halberds and long brass-hilted swords ; the gunners carried field staffs about two feet longer than the halberds, with two linstock cocks, branching out at the head and a spear projecting between and beyond them : great attention was paid in keeping them very bright : a buff belt over the left shoulder, slinging a large powder-horn mounted with brass over the right pocket, and the same description of long brass-hilted sword as worn by the non-commissioned officers. The matrosses had only common muskets, with bayonets and cartouch-boxes.

“In 1743, the eight companies composing the regiment were thus distributed : one company in Minorca, one at Gibraltar, one at the fishing coasts in Newfoundland, three with the army in Flanders, and two at Woolwich : the two last furnished all detachments, which, at

that time, were limited to bomb-vessel service with the fleets in the Mediterranean and West Indies.

“ 1744.—In March, two companies were added to the regiment, which now consisted of ten companies, and were stationed as follows: In Minorca, Gibraltar and Newfoundland, one company at each; one company was sent to Flanders in addition to the three already there, and three remained at Woolwich.—In June, his Royal Highness William, Duke of Cumberland, went to Woolwich to witness some experiments and a proof of cannon, when the three companies of Royal Artillery were drawn up under arms to receive his Royal Highness, and twenty gentlemen cadets were formed in rank entire on the right, without arms, uniforms, or officer at their head. The officers did not then practise saluting with the fusee, and only saluted with their hats as the Duke passed.

“ The following event deserves to be recorded. The King of Sardinia, at that time in alliance with Great Britain, being threatened with an invasion by the combined armies of France and Spain, applied to Admiral Mathews, command-

ing the fleet in the Mediterranean, soliciting his aid; the detachment of the Royal Artillery, serving on board of four bomb-ketches in his fleet, were sent on shore to take charge of the most important ports and batteries on his frontiers; the King, it is presumed, regarding them as more trustworthy than his own troops. This detachment consisted of one captain, four lieutenants and twenty-four bombardiers, performed all that was required of them with perfect satisfaction. They were made prisoners in the defence of Montalban and Montleuze, two strong posts, which were captured by the French and Spaniards by assault in April.

“ 1745.—In January, a company of gentlemen cadets was first established and added to the regiment; the cadets mentioned above were two cadet gunners, and two cadet matrosses, up to that time mustered in each company; the former received one shilling and fourpence, and the latter one shilling per diem, paid them monthly by the captain in whose companies they were mustered. A few of these young gentlemen, who were generally the sons of officers residing at Woolwich, and attended the Royal

Academy when they pleased, were under no command, wore no uniform, and were generally so young that few of them were fit to be preferred to commissions ; so little were these young gentlemen under any kind of constraint, that it was the business of the officer on duty at the Warren-guard, who occasionally visited the Academy, to use his best endeavours to preserve good order.

“ The Royal Academy was founded in 1741, by the Duke of Montague, then Master-General of the Ordnance.

“ The distribution of the three companies of Artillery, remained as last year : at Gibraltar, Minorca and Newfoundland. Three companies remained at Woolwich till August, when, upon the capture of Cape Breton, one of these was sent to garrison Louisbourg ; and in the month of October, the four companies in Flanders were ordered home, in consequence of the rebellion in Scotland, and were employed in North and South Britain, with the several corps of troops which were assembled on that occasion. A detachment of three officers and fifty men was sent from Woolwich in August, with a battalion

of guards and the 15th regiment, to strengthen the garrison of Ostend, then besieged by Count Lëivendahl, which held out about fourteen days. —8th of December, two companies, with a train of artillery, commanded by Colonel Lewis, marched from Woolwich to Finchley Common, where a corps of troops was to have assembled, under the immediate orders of the King, had the rebels advanced to London, as was then apprehended: but they retired northward from Derby, and these two companies and the train of artillery returned on the 11th to Woolwich.

“ 1746.—The four companies at Gibraltar, Minorca, Newfoundland and Louisbourg, remained as last year; one company was stationed in Scotland, and five companies remained at Woolwich till after the suppression of the rebellion in April, by the victory of Culloden, when two of these companies were sent home with seven battalions to join the allied army in Brabant; and one company embarked in May with six battalions, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sinclair on an expedition to the coast of France, where a fruitless attempt was made

on Port l'Orient: this expedition was originally intended against Quebec. Two companies remained then at Woolwich. The one detached on the expedition to the coast of France, commanded by Captain Chambers, by express orders of the Master-General, was put under the command of Mr. Armstrong, the chief engineer on that service, who had not at that time, nor ever had before or since, any rank or commission in the army, for the corps of Engineers had no military rank or title till the year 1757.

“1747.—Early in this year three companies were added to the artillery, now augmented to thirteen companies.

“1749.—6th of July. On the death of the late Master-General, the Duke of Montague, the King signed a commission constituting and appointing General Sir John Ligonier, then Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, to be Colonel en second of the Royal Artillery, and Captain of the company of gentlemen cadets.”

I regret that my father's notes on this subject go no further.

It is remarkable that the Royal Military

Academy at Woolwich was founded in 1741, on the day of my father's birth, (Isaac Landmann), who afterwards filled the chair of Professor of Fortification and Artillery in that institution, during the long period of forty-five years; and it is also curious, that on the day on which, had my father lived so long, he would have completed his hundredth year, I, his son, laid the first stone of the South widening of the London and Greenwich Railway, in 1841.

In those days there were vehicles called long coaches, just resembling the omnibuses of modern times, but with this difference—they had ten wheels, and were thence called *santepees*, that is, *centipedes*.

I must not forget to notice General Broom, a reserved and distant man, who mixed but little with the society of the inhabitants of the Warren. Broom was the Commandant; and I remember well, on one occasion in 1795, when, on his returning into the Warren, he received the honours due to a Lieutenant-General by the guard at the gate; they turned out, presented arms, and the drummer beat two ruffles; little Broom



ran up in great displeasure to the drummer, and upbraiding him for his inefficiency in the art of drumming, snatched the drum away, passed the suspending belt over his own neck, and began to rattle away in a very superior style ; finishing with the two ruffles, he exclaimed :

“ There, you young dog, that’s the way I used to beat the drum when I was a drummer.”

It is almost needless to add that Lieutenant-General Broom, then eighty-four years of age, had commenced his military career as a drummer, and was proud of it.

During the spring of the year 1793, the first panorama exhibited in this country, was painted by Barker in Leicester Square. The subject was a faithful representation of the grand fleet, under Lord Howe, lying at anchor in two parallel lines at Spithead ; and the whole was very beautifully executed. The details were well considered, and the drawing very good, and all moving objects were most properly and carefully excluded, with the exception of a boat with two men rowing in it. No exhibition of any description had previously attracted a greater concourse of people, and I have never been better pleased

with anything of the kind ; and a stronger certificate of the excellence of the painting cannot be desired than the following : An officer of the Royal Navy having been attracted to view this panorama, paid his shilling and ascended, taking with him his Newfoundland dog, Cæsar. On reaching the platform whence the whole picture was viewed, he was so much delighted with the fidelity of the representation, that he called Cæsar to “ hey-in,” upon which the dog, being completely deceived, without hesitation bounded over the railing, as he thought, into the sea. This is a well-authenticated fact.

I do not remember the exact date, but it must have been about the year 1792 or 1793, that I was taking a walk with my father from the Warren towards the Artillery barracks, when we followed Love Lane, which I believe is now closed up, and built over, but then extended from opposite the public-house called “ the Fortune of War,” in a direct line to the back of the Horse Artillery riding school, or more properly to the westward of it. On arriving at the top of Love Lane, which there entered a large field, now entirely covered with houses, my father

observing a few drops of rain falling from an exceedingly black cloud which had gathered in a very sudden manner over our heads, opened a green cotton umbrella. In a few seconds the pelting was remarkably heavy, so much so, that both of us were much surprised, and we thought that some very large hail-stones must have fallen on the umbrella. We were not long left in suspense as to the real cause, for on looking about us to find some of the hail-stones, we were struck with the utmost astonishment on discovering that the surface of the ground in every direction was swarming with small frogs, from the size of a four-penny piece to that of a shilling.

My admission to be a cadet in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich, has already been noticed—the head of the first room to which I was appointed was the present Lieutenant-General Eveleigh ; and I soon afterwards became the newks or youngest in a room of which the name of the head, or senior cadet was Desbrisay. He was tall, stout, had a black beard, and in short was a man in every respect. Desbrisay, moreover, was an Irishman, a sterling, right good

fellow, possessing a great deal of that clever off-hand wit for which his countrymen are so justly celebrated. Notwithstanding this talent, Desbrisay had not been able to retain a knowledge of the demonstrations contained in Simpson's "Euclid;" he read them and studied them over and over again, learnt each proposition perfectly, and could repeat it without one mistake, even after the lapse of an hour; but then his memory failed him so totally that, his labour in learning, and ours in endeavouring to cram him, were of no avail. Desbrisay's turn to be finally examined for a commission at length was at hand, when about a dozen of those cadets, who had completed the course of studies, were directed to prepare themselves to appear for examination before the Master-General of the Ordnance, the Duke of Richmond; Dr. Masculyne, the astronomer royal; Sir William Green, the chief royal engineer; General Daubant, of the Royal Engineers; Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Blomefield and Captain Fage, of the Royal Artillery, and a few more, whose names I do not remember. These examinations were, at that period, conducted with much

pomp and ceremony ; they were held in the upper academy, fitted up with seats forming an amphitheatre, and were open to all well-dressed persons. As time advanced, Desbrisay passed day and night with his nose hanging over his Euclid, without however making the slightest progress excepting in regard to the forty-seventh proposition of the first book, of which he was perfectly master.

At length, the 12th September, 1793, was appointed for the examination day. By nine o'clock the examiners, the great Duke of Richmond at their head, had taken their seats on one side of a long table covered with a green cloth, and the young gentlemen to be examined were ranged standing on the other side facing them. The Lieutenant-Governor, the Inspector, and the two Professors—Landmann of fortification and artillery, and Hutton of mathematics—were seated in a line behind the examiners, ready to afford any information that might be required. The remainder of the cadets occupied an elevated gallery, a part of which was immediately over the table at which the examiners were seated, and, consequently, they could hear and see

distinctly all that was going on. The examination proceeded in a satisfactory manner up to Euclid ; and when it came to Desbrisay's turn to demonstrate a proposition, every heart amongst us in the gallery, began to beat heavily, and our breathing was seriously affected ; our ears and eyes were strained to their utmost in painful sympathy and anxiety at the almost certainty of the ruin of poor Desbrisay which seemed to threaten him.

Dr. Masculyne now opened the awful Euclid in the usual manner, quite at random, and, presenting the same across the table to Desbrisay, with his never-failing kindness and urbanity, said : " Will you do me the favour, Sir, to demonstrate that proposition ? " which, as every one in the gallery had expected, was not the forty-seventh of the first book. Desbrisay's manly appearance, which contrasted strongly when compared with the other youthful candidates, had attracted the Duke of Richmond's notice, and now caused him to turn round on his chair and inquire of Stehelin, the Lieutenant-Governor, the name of the gentleman with the black beard. Even at this last moment,

Desbrisay retained his presence of mind and fullest composure, and seizing the happy opportunity, which the Duke had given him by turning his back to consult Stehelin, he, with the utmost impudence, leant over the table to the Doctor, and, returning him the book, said in an under-tone: "Pray excuse me, Doctor; any other proposition, if you will do me that favour." Dr. Masculyne was obliging, and, receiving the book, closed it and allowing it to fall open without control, presented the forty-seventh of the first book. Our friend Desbrisay now boldly stepped up to the black board, and acquitted himself so well, that the Duke of Richmond complimented him on his perfect knowledge of Euclid, and desiring the Doctor to pass on to the next gentleman, adding: "I am quite satisfied that Mr. Desbrisay is fully qualified in that branch. I shall be well pleased if every gentleman before us should prove himself to be equally so." It is well to explain, that the book above named was the property of Desbrisay, which may account for its readiness to open at that particular proposition.

Whilst on this subject, it reminds me that on

my being examined by Dr. Hutton, in order to be admitted into the upper academy, one of the first questions he wrote upon my slate, was : “ If a herring and a half cost three-halfpence, how many would you get for threepence ? ” I was, as usual with cadets under examination, standing at the Doctor’s desk and immediately facing him. I received the slate with the puzzling question upon it, when I very quickly understood it, and it caused me to smile. Hutton was stooping down his head, as one occupied in writing, but in fact was watching my countenance, looking over his spectacles and through his bushy eyebrows ; for the next moment he said, as he in vain tried to smile ; for it was no easy matter for him at any time to look pleased : “ I see you are up to it, boy. Give me the slate.”

That mode of addressing the gentlemen cadets by the epithet, *Boy*, together with his invariable roughness of manner, drew upon him the *sobriquet* of *Old Crump* ; and my father, the Professor of fortifications and artillery, was usually designated as *Old Snout*, in consequence of the extra dimensions of his nose : thus, every



one of the officers and masters, and also the cadets, and even the servants, were distinguished by some nick name, founded on any peculiarity of person or manners.

On another occasion, after I was admitted to the upper academy, on my having acquitted myself decently in demonstrating a proposition in the fifth book of Euclid, Hutton said: "Very well, boy; do you understand it?" to which I of course replied that I did; but Hutton, with his bass tone of voice, grumbled out: "That's more than I do, boy," adding, he had never been able to understand the fifth book perfectly, and I soon afterwards discovered that I did not myself understand that book.

I have mentioned these trifles, merely as being connected with the history, and more particularly as marking the manners, of a celebrated author, and first-rate mathematician. And I feel some pride in having been requested by the Doctor to assist him in reading and correcting the sheets of his tables of logarithms whilst they were printing.

## CHAPTER V.

Frazer saves a man from drowning in the Thames—Horse brigade formed—I am examined for a commission and pass—Ferry across the Thames at Gravesend by a rope—Departure for Plymouth—The British Houlans at Plymouth—Colonel Davies and his blind son—First Fuschia—I dine as commanding engineer with Lord G. Lennox—‘Dutton’ East Indiaman—Captain Pellew—Captain Campbell, his story of the goats—Visit the Mew Stone—Captain Phillip, R.N.—Smuggling women—Sailors and prize-money—The ‘Amphion’ blown up.

IT must have been about the year 1794, that I was on the water-side of the Thames, at a place then called Prince Rupert’s Walk—now occupied by a considerable range of ware or store-houses—when a number of cadets were bathing in the river, some of them swimming out and round the old ‘Stanislaus,’ convict hulk. Sud-

denly a cry of a man drowning, was heard to proceed from the hulk; upon which Mr. Frazer, a cadet, since then Sir Augustus Frazer, dashed into the water, whence he had but an instant withdrawn, and saved the drowning person,—I believe, but am not sure, a brother cadet.

At the commencement of the year 1795, the British army, under the Duke of York, had been compelled to retire from the continent, and the war with France had assumed a more serious aspect: the revolutionists, who at first had been worsted on all sides, had now learnt how to conquer their enemies; it was, therefore, resolved to increase our forces, and to act upon a more extended scale. For this purpose, to the foot artillery, the horse brigade had already been formed to the extent of about four troops, and now an additional battalion of foot artillery was ordered to be raised. The officers required by these augmentations were furnished by the Royal Military Academy; but that establishment was totally inadequate to supply such increased demands of fully educated men. The case, however, was urgent, and it was thought that gentlemen partly instructed were more

deserving commissions than others who had not received any portion of the required information; so that an order was received by the Lieutenant-Governor to supply thirty-five cadets, to be immediately promoted to the rank of officers in the Royal Artillery, and their commissions were dated on the 6th of March, 1795.

I was at this time at the head of the upper academy, first in every branch of the studies; but as I had been destined to enter the corps of Royal Engineers I was left at the academy, to pursue the course of instruction, for there was not one vacancy in that corps. One having soon afterwards occurred, I was examined alone with much parade—although not publicly, the Master-General, the Marquis Cornwallis, was present, as also some of the usual examiners. Having acquitted myself satisfactorily, I received a commission as a second Lieutenant in the corps of Royal Engineers, which was dated on the 1st of May, 1795, without passing through the Royal Artillery, as was at that time the custom, in order that those officers might learn the artillery duties. I was,

nevertheless, ordered to do duty with the Artillery during some months, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the duties of that service.

During this period, a camp had been formed on Warley Common, Essex, to which some artillery was ordered to proceed, and amongst these was a troop of horse artillery, commanded by Captain (the late Lord) Bloomfield. As it had been thought that by stretching a rope across the Thames, at Gravesend, the ferry at that place would be rendered more convenient and the transit more expeditious, this troop of horse artillery was ordered to proceed to Gravesend, and in this way to cross the Thames. My father and myself proceeded to Gravesend on the 21st of June 1795, and on the following morning we crossed the river in the same barge with Captain Bloomfield. The rope was made to pass over the bows of the barge on a friction-roller, and having a spring, or a rope, extending from the stern of the barge to the grand rope, where it was connected by a snatch-block ; by which means the exact position of the barge in regard of the

direction of the tide could be regulated. By this spring, as the sailors term it, the boat was placed, and there firmly held, in a slight degree across the tide, which acting on the same principle as on the flying bridges, the barge was propelled towards the opposite shore. The operation occupied about fifty-four minutes. This was a failure in point of time, which, together with many other difficulties and inconveniences attending this new mode of ferrying troops from Gravesend to Tilbury, caused it to be abandoned. The passing of the shipping up and down the river was in no way obstructed, for the rope lay on the bottom of the river, and as they passed on, it fell again immediately.

Towards the close of this year I was appointed to serve at Plymouth Dock, now Devonport, in the western district. I lost no time in making all the necessary preparations for this departure from home; and fifteen days before I was appointed to be at my post, I forwarded all my baggage, excepting one portmanteau, to Russel's waggon-office, in Friday street, Cheapside, from fifteen to sixteen days being the

usual time required for those ponderous wag-gons, drawn by eight very powerful horses, to perform the enormous distance of about two hundred and twelve miles.

I proceeded to Plymouth Dock and placed myself under the orders of Colonel Mercer, the commanding Royal Engineer of the district, and there had the pleasure of meeting my former brother cadets, Lieutenants Henry Anderson, Glasgow and Holberton of the Royal Engineers, who were stationed there. At the same time, Colonel Davies, Major Laye, Captains Rogers and Unite, Lieutenants Tullock, Milbank, Crawford, Hugh Frazer, Brownrig, and perhaps some others, were the officers of the Royal Artillery. The remainder of the garrison was composed of militia—the North Hants, and South and East Devon. I was immediately proposed and admitted a member of the joint Artillery and Engineer mess ; and very shortly after this the troops we had sent to Quiberon Bay returned to England.

Amongst these was a regiment called the British Houlans, composed, I believe, entirely of French emigrant officers. During their short

stay at Plymouth, many of them dined very frequently with our mess, and one, whose name was De l'Estour, an exceedingly handsome man, astonished us all by his display of the sword exercise, as practised by the British Houlans, leaving us perfectly convinced that nothing could surpass it in point of defence, both of the man and of his horse. The way he managed his sword was by what he termed the *moulinet*, that is, by cutting right and left, in rapid succession, forming a figure of eight, just in front of his horse's nose, which of course required that he should rise in the stirrups and lean forward. This exhibition of De l'Estour's abilities, made a deep impression on most of us, and we forthwith commenced practising the *moulinet*; but having imprudently made our first essays with real swords, instead of single sticks, several of the party gave themselves some ugly cuts about the legs, which very soon put a stop to any further endeavours to excel in the *moulinet*.

I was much delighted in meeting again my early friend, Mr. George Davies, who had lost his sight by the small-pox, when about four



years of age. He was educated at Dr. Burney's well-known school at Greenwich; and became a good mathematician and geometrician, was master of Euclid, played remarkably well on the piano, and was in other respects very clever. His tact in recognising any person with whom he had been acquainted, after a long absence, was wonderful—frequently without hearing the sound of his voice, but merely by passing his hand over the shoulders and hands of the *incognito*. Another very extraordinary circumstance indicative of acute memory he displayed on various occasions, was that when we walked together in the vicinity of Plymouth, he directed my steps over fields and ditches in order to bring me to some interesting spot, where the scenery was remarkable or particularly interesting, and in which he appeared to be as well pleased as any one in possession of his sight.

Colonel Davies, his father, was a celebrated naturalist, and had formed a splendid collection of stuffed birds, butterflies and reptiles, together with fossils, organic remains and minerals; his drawings of fishes and rare flowers were exquisite. On one fine morning, when I called

at his quarters, I met the Colonel just sallying forth with his drawing apparatus. Calling me to join him, we hastened out by Stoke Gate, walked on about three miles to Manedon, the seat of Mr. Hall, to whom Davies introduced me, and without loss of time proceeded to the green-house, where the Colonel pointed out a small fuschia in full bloom, of which he made a beautiful drawing on vellum. It was the first of these now favourite flowers brought into England.

It was about this period, that Colonel Mercer, being absent visiting the works of fortification, executing at Berry-head near Brixham, Torbay, and Lieutenant Anderson having been sent to Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth, I was left senior officer of Engineers at Plymouth Dock. At this period, General Lord George Lennox was the Governor, and gave one of the official dinners, at which the general and staff officers, together with the heads of departments, were invited ; it thus fell to my lot to dine at Government House, as commanding royal engineer of the district, although I was then under sixteen years of age. I was, nevertheless, seated on his

Lordship's left, whilst Colonel Davies, commanding the Royal Artillery, was placed on his right. The names of some of the other officers at table were Lieutenant-General Greenfield, Major-General Coats, Major Losac, Deputy Adjutant-General, Captains Campbell, Sabine and Teesdale, aides-de-camp; Colonel Bustard, Sir William Lemon, and other officers commanding militia regiments were of the party; but there were no ladies excepting Lady Louisa Lennox and Miss Lennox.

My extreme youth, as head of a department, amidst so many grey heads, caused a good deal of good-natured merriment, and I exerted my best efforts to bear without visible vanity the high position in which accident had so suddenly placed me.

In January, 1796, during a severe gale of wind from the south-west, the 'Dutton,' East Indiaman, or transport full of troops, was wrecked under the citadel. I hastened to the spot, and a more awful sight I had never before witnessed. The sea was dashing up the precipitous rocks to the height of fifty feet at least, and falling back, made a complete breach over

the devoted ship, driving it with fearful violence to a great elevation against the rocks, and then leaving it to fall back by its own gravity, into the abyss below, grating down with frightful groans, and tearing away her side planking.

On my arrival, I found an immense concourse of people looking on, but no one doing anything useful. Here I soon came in contact with Captain Edward Pellew (Lord Exmouth), of the Royal Navy, who asked me to follow him on board the wreck, by a rope which had been passed to the ship, and assist him in maintaining discipline and proper subordination on board. I followed without hesitation, and during this perilous voyage, I was, as was also the Captain, dipped at least a dozen times deep into the sea. I remained on the wreck until all the people, men, women and children, were safely landed; then returned with a child of four or five years of age, tied on my breast. Captain Pellew was created a Baronet for this service, and I was confined to my bed during the following six weeks, attended by Dr. May, the Ordnance surgeon; for on returning to the shore, I received several severe

bruises : the ship by this time going to pieces.

Captain Campbell, the Governor of the citadel, a very aged man with a wooden leg, was so much pleased with my conduct, that he had me conveyed to his residence and carefully attended to. After my recovery, I was frequently invited to dine with him. He was an old soldier, and told old stories of former wars, of former times, and of strange adventures in strange countries.

One of these he related, with the strongest assurances that every word of it was scrupulously true. He commenced :

“ You have all, no doubt, observed that I have a good many goats, running about the works, and that they are fond of walking round the outside of the walls on the *cordon*,” a small semi-circular projection of stone near the top of the escarp, about one foot wide, and above which the revetment of the parapet rises, perpendicularly, four or five feet.

“ Now it happened one day,” he continued, “ that two of my goats commenced their rounds at the same point by leaping out of one of the

embrasures, but started back to back, and, consequently, ultimately met at the opposite side of the citadel face to face. Neither could proceed any further, for they could not pass each other nor turn. They remained motionless for two hours, their eyes fixed upon each other; and just as I thought I could perceive a disposition in one to retreat, for it had taken three or four steps to the rear, the other laid down, with its head as low as possible; the first then sprang forwards at a canter and leaped over him."

The 21st of June, 1796, was a beautifully clear, calm and warm day, so that a party which we had, long before this, formed for visiting the Mew Stone—a large high rock, at the eastern side of the entrance of Plymouth Sound—now embarked in the engineers' boat, and proceeded, well laden with provisions. We had several times before attempted to carry this project into effect, but each time the sea had rendered landing on the rock impossible. On our way, we passed the 'Concorde,' a French frigate, which had been captured by our cruizers, and was either the second or third of that name we had taken. One of our party was the son

of Colonel T. Davis, already mentioned. It was truly astonishing to observe the success with which this blind young man, accomplished a landing from a boat, heaving up and down by a considerable swell, against the face of a rock, the first ten to fifteen feet of which was almost perpendicular, and the intrepidity with which he finally scrambled quite to the top; but, above all, it is difficult to comprehend what gratification he could experience in hearing the exclamations of delight which burst forth from each individual as he reached the pinnacle of this huge rock, whence the prospect is magnificent.

In the course of the same summer my father paid me a short visit, and here had the unspeakable pleasure of meeting his oldest and most intimate friend, Captain Phillip of the Royal Navy. At this time Captain Phillip had been the first Governor of New South Wales, and during a short time before his departure I was a midshipman of his ship. Phillip pressed my father very much to entrust me to his care during his meditated voyage to Botany Bay, assuring him that I should never do any duty nor should he trust me out of his sight; but I

was too young, and neither father nor mother could be induced to part with me.

Here, at Plymouth, Phillip commanded the 'Swiftsure' of seventy-four guns, lying in Causand Bay; and he invited my father and myself to go on board, taking with us Mrs. Phillip, a lady he had recently married. On arriving at Mutton Cove, where the boat was waiting to carry us off, the wind was so strong from south-west, directly contrary, that no boat could have performed the voyage: we, therefore, pulled away to a very small king's lugger, I believe called the 'Bull-Dog,' held always in readiness to communicate with ships of war in Causand Bay; for there was no breakwater in those days. We were under sail in a few minutes. It took us some time to beat out so as to clear St. Nicolas' Island, during which time the spray was continually flying over our masts. On entering the open Sound, our progress was exceedingly slow, for, although we were running perhaps six knots per hour, yet we gained but little to windward: the sails were all close-reefed, yet the lee gunwale was ever under water. I had never before been at sea, and, although the



waves were exceedingly high and every one washing over us, I was not sick, nor was either my father or Mrs. Phillip; but the Commodore, who had doubled every cape, had navigated every sea, had been tossed by the severest hurricanes, and, in short, had been longer on the seas than on the land, suffered in this way severely.

Well I remember his little figure smothered up in his brown camlet cloak lined with green baize, his face shrivelled, and thin aquiline nose under a large cocked hat, gathered up in a heap, his chin between his knees, sitting under the lee of the main mast; his sharp and powerful voice exclaiming: "I cannot bear this, I am as sick as a dog!"

At length we arrived under the stern of the 'Swiftsure,' when it was evident we should have experienced considerable difficulty had we attempted to go on board, so that Phillip having given some orders to the first Lieutenant who was at the gangway, we ran away into Causand Bay and there landed in a heavy surf. Here we dined at a miserable public house; but we had brought with us the best excuse for very

bad fare, a good appetite, caused by beating to windward against a south-west gale with drizzling rain for four hours. At an early hour we departed on foot, and walked over Maker heights by the side of Mount-Edgecomb towards the harbour, and on our way met an immense number of thin women proceeding with the utmost expedition, whilst all those we overtook, about equal in number, were large stout females, evidently waddling along with difficulty; on seeing these, Phillip explained that the latter were all wadded with bladders filled with Hollands gin, which they managed to smuggle under these dresses, whilst the others were thin and light, having delivered their cargoes at the water side.

It is surprising how such wholesale contraband should have been permitted, for every body knew the trade they were engaged in.

Plymouth Dock was at this period full of gaiety. Fore Street was almost crowded with the officers of the navy and army—the former swimming in prize-money—whilst the dillys (hackney-chariots) plying between Dock and Plymouth *via* Stonehouse, at sixpence each

person, or eighteenpence for the whole, were continually not only filled with sailors, but covered by them, all anxious to expend large sums of money, which had just been paid them in guineas, and which they were frequently seen carrying about the streets in their hats under their arms. A sailor in those days had no idea of saving up anything for the future. His only thought was to get rid of his money, and to such an extent was this desire for squandering it carried, that I recollect being on board the 'Swiftsure' with Captain Phillip, when a sailor carrying a pewter pint pot in his hand nearly full of guineas, came to his captain on deck, and begged very earnestly to be allowed to go on shore for the remainder of the day, in order to expend his prize-money. Phillip knew the man, and stiffly refused his petition; the man soon reduced his demand to "one hour on shore if you please, dear captain, and I promise you most sincerely to have then spent the last guinea."

"No," replied Phillip, "I know you will not return but when brought off by force;" and quickly turned away towards the cabin.

The sailor again hat in hand, followed his commanding officer, begging for leave to go in the boat about to push off to the shore, and assuring the captain he would remain within sight of the officer in charge of the boat; still he was denied.

“Then,” exclaimed the tar, as he uttered a deep groan, “what’s the use of money if a man can’t get leave to spend it?” and at the same moment he dashed the pot and guineas overboard, and hastened away to the forecandle, without uttering another word.

On witnessing this piece of folly, Phillip related to me that some time before this event, having refused to permit one of the seamen to go on shore for the same purpose, the disappointment was so severely felt by the tar, that he immediately stabbed himself with a sharp-pointed knife in the right breast. The surgeon attended instantly, and after an anxious investigation, looked serious, but expressed no opinion. The sailor, mistaking his conduct as an indication of his entertaining some doubt as to the depth to which the weapon had gone, gruffly observed:

“There, now, if you want to know how deep it has gone, I’ll soon show you,” upon which he drew in his breath, and then closing his mouth and nostrils, forced the wind to pass out by the wound, which spirted the blood over the surgeon’s face; then laughing ferociously, he exclaimed: “Take that, Master Splice-bones.”

One morning, I was with many others standing at the door of Mr. Hoxland’s library, printing-office and gossiping shop, in Fore Street, the usual rendezvous of the navy and army, where all the real and false news of the day was circulated, when our attention was drawn to the assembling of three post-chaises with four horses to each, at the door of The King’s Arms’ Hotel. They were immediately driven off. On our inquiring what great personage had landed without the customary salutes, we were informed that all this display was by a common sailor, who had just received prize-money to the amount of £500. Having been allowed one week to get rid of it, his ingenuity had devised the most noble way of doing so, by hiring one chaise and four for himself, another for his hat, and a third for his

cudgel. He intended to go to London and back to Plymouth in that style, which, together with some £200 for road expenses, &c., would, he hoped, nearly consume the whole of his prize-money.

On my landing at Mutton Cove, one day, on returning from Mount Edgecomb, in a boat rowed by two of the women, who always plied the ferry at that place, I observed a group of sailors, women, and Jews, anxiously watching some proceedings going on within a ring they formed. I was attracted to the spot, and soon perceived two sailors sitting on the ground, each of them holding a shoe by the toe and with the heels hammering a watch to pieces, whilst there were several other watches lying by their sides, seemingly waiting their turn to undergo the same operation. I was quickly informed by some of the lookers on, that the two watch-pounders were "Poor fellows whose hard-hearted captains not allowing them one hour's liberty on shore to spend the prize-money they had that day received, amounting to more than £70 each, had obliged them to remain on the water-side in sight of the middy in charge of

the boat." To all the women looking on they had behaved with great liberality by dividing amongst them a considerable share of the money, and I was further informed that they were now endeavouring to get rid of the remainder by breaking watches.

"But tell me," said I, "how and by what rule are they going on?"

"Why," said a large, heavy-looking woman, with short petticoats and bloated face, "I don't suppose it of any use to tell you nothing about it. The way on it is, they buys a dozen of them there watches for £5 a-piece from that tall half-starved looking Jew, as you sees tother side; but they isn't worth £1 a-piece, God bless you, and then they goes to work and tries which can beat to crumbs his half first for a glass of grog all round."

Amongst the numerous captains of the navy, whom I recollect to have seen here strutting down on the left-hand side of Fore Street, in going towards the Dock-yard gates, and with all of whom I was more or less acquainted, were Captains Minchin, Urquhart, King, Nagle, Brisbane, Sir Edward Pellew, Izrael Pellew, Durham,

Hotham, Oliver, Owen, and probably some others, most of them commanding frigates, and almost daily bringing in prizes. I was particularly acquainted with Captain Courtland, who resided at Plymouth Dock, and received many kind invitations to pass the day at Thanks, on the opposite side of the harbour, the seat of Lord Graves; and of course always danced with one of the three daughters—most amiable girls.

On the 22nd of September, 1796; being the anniversary of George the Third's coronation, the ships of war fired a royal salute, and just as I was sitting down to dinner in Clowance Street, at about four o'clock I was surprized by a tremendous explosion which rattled the windows as when struck by a sudden blast of wind, and caused the knocker on the street-door to give a double knock. I ran out and was quickly informed that a ship-of-war lashed to the sheer-hulk, had blown up just opposite to the dock-yard. I hastened to the gun-wharf, ordered out the engineer's boat, and speedily got to the spot. On arriving there, I learned that the 'Amphion,' a 32-gun frigate, had blown



up full of people, many of them residents at Plymouth, who had gone on board to take leave of their friends—the ship having been appointed to sail on the following day.

We arrived too late to be of much service, for the only person we could pick up was a woman, lying on some pieces of wreck ; although she had lost both her arms just above the elbows, and both her legs were nearly off, yet she spoke very distinctly. She uttered no screams, but was bleeding so profusely that before I could convey her to the hospital-ship, she expired. I was afterwards informed by an eye-witness, that the foremast only had ascended into the air, proving that it was the forward magazine that had exploded, containing as I was informed, thirty-two rounds of ammunition for each gun, and in less than two minutes after the explosion, the frigate went down head foremost.

Captain Izrael Pellew was the commander of the ‘Amphion,’ and was saved ; but Captain Swaffeild who had been invited to dine with Pellew, went down with the ship and perished ; the First Lieutenant who was also invited to dine

with the captain, was saved by jumping out of the cabin window. It was reported that Captain Joshua Rowley was within a few yards of the 'Amphion,' in his boat, going to join the dinner-party, when the ship blew up, and also that a black man-servant was at that moment entering the cabin-door with a dish of rump-steaks.

The total number of lives lost on this melancholy occasion, was generally understood to have amounted to two hundred and seventy-eight, amongst whom were a great number of the inhabitants of Plymouth Dock (Devonport); for the 'Amphion' had been a considerable time on the Plymouth station, and the crews had formed numerous connections and acquaintances amongst the inhabitants, so that on the following day half the shop-windows in Fore Street, had their shutters closed. Moreover, as the frigate was to have gone to sea the next morning, a considerable number of the crew were on shore with their friends and relations, whilst many of the shore people were on board to take leave of their friends, who could not be spared from the duties of the ship.

Several of the guns of the 'Amphion' were merely lifted into the sheer hulk, to which the 'Amphion' had been lashed, and it was related at the time, that the sentinel at the gangway was so gently transferred from the deck of the 'Amphion' to that of the hulk, that the next instant an officer passing him, he carried arms to him as if nothing had occurred.

The raising of the wreck now occupied the attention of all the scientific and unscientific people of the three towns and vicinity. After due consideration, some very large cables were made for the purpose of sweeping for the wreck, one to pass under the stern and the other under the stem, and then the two ends of each were drawn as tight as possible. Two frigates were unloaded of everything that could be removed, and placed on each side the 'Amphion.' The ports of these ships were closed and rendered water-tight, and then nearly filled with water in order to sink them as deeply into the water as might be done with safety; this was accomplished at low water, and the cables drawn in taut. It is evident that as the tide rose, and by pumping out the water, the frigates rose con-

siderably more than the mere rise of the tide, and thus lifted or weighed the 'Amphion'; when no time was lost in proceeding into the shallowest water the suspended ship would allow of, and thus at low tide the wreck was considerably out of water.

The hauling in of the cables was a curious and somewhat complicated operation; after passing into the frigates on each side, they were taken on shore into the Dock-yard, where some hundreds of men were engaged in winding them in by the united power of a great number of capstans; this, it was important should be accomplished at low water. A large portion of the persons who had been between decks, and who had sunk with the frigate, were found there, and it was said that a black man was discovered in an upright position, with his feet upwards, although five or six months had lapsed since the lamentable event had occurred. The key of the forward powder-magazine door, which had blown up, was found hanging up in its proper place, in the cabin of the First Lieutenant. This at the time was regarded as exonerating him from any neglect of his

duty ; and, I believe that the cause of the accident was never satisfactorily determined.

I well remember that neither shrimps nor other shell-fish were saleable at Plymouth for many months after this event, such being supposed to devour human bodies, in preference to all other food. I shall merely add on this subject, that, notwithstanding the general gloom which such a calamity was calculated to throw over the three towns of Plymouth Dock, Devonport, Stonehouse and Plymouth ; on the same evening, being on a Thursday, the long rooms at Stonehouse, where balls were held, every Thursday, the assembly was as numerous of both army and navy, and the dancing kept up with as much spirit as on any other Thursday in the year.

## CHAPTER VI.

I proceed to Falmouth — Bingham and Stackpole in West Indies — Pendennis Castle — Admiral Spry — Mr. Tippet — Captain Melville — Flora Day — Ordered to Quebec — Sell my horses.

My mother and sister were at this time on a visit to me at Plymouth Dock, and they received many kind invitations from Lord George and Lady Louisa Lennox, to dine at Government House, and more frequently to pass the evenings, when but little ceremony was observed. Towards the close of the year (1796), we occupied a small house in Clowance Street, and had very pleasant neighbours in a Lieutenant and Mrs. Richardson, of the Surrey-Fencible Cavalry; and we had invited them to meet a small party on Christmas-day, at my house.

I, in particular, had anticipated much pleasure on that day ; but, about eight o'clock on the eve of Christmas, we were somewhat startled by a very loud treble knock at the door, and in a few minutes General Mercer, my commanding officer, entered the room, with his sourest aspect, by no means uncommon with him, for it had drawn upon him the *sobriquet* of "Vinegar Mercer." My General sat down, quite out of breath, for he had walked very fast against a south-west gale and a heavy fall of snow ; having at length recovered the faculty of speech, he said he was very sorry to be under the necessity of disturbing our family arrangements for the next day, "but his Majesty's service must supersede all other considerations." He explained that he had received instructions from head-quarters, for Lieutenant Henry Anderson of the Royal Engineers, then on detached duty at Falmouth, to hold himself in readiness to embark for the West Indies forthwith, and that I must proceed without delay to relieve that officer at Falmouth.

Accordingly I crossed the Tamar to Tor-

point, and thence proceeded, in a post-chaise, with my servant, Lilicrap (a private soldier in the corps of Royal Military Artificers, now the Sappers and Miners), mounted on my poney.

The snow had not ceased falling during the night, and had accumulated to such a depth on the road, that we proceeded but slowly; and by the time we arrived at St. Austle, the night was so dark, and the snow so deep that I could not procure any horses to carry me forward. Here I found Captain Sheldrake and Lieutenant Philip Durnford of the Royal Artillery; they were old acquaintances, and we passed the evening pleasantly together.

On the following day, I arrived at Williams' Hotel at Falmouth, amidst a deluge of rain, and a most severe south-west gale of wind. I very soon released Lieutenant Anderson from the charge of the construction of some important additions to the defences of Pendennis Castle, and he departed to prepare for the voyage to the West Indies, under the fullest conviction that he should never return to England. Nevertheless, he returned, after a stay of nine months in these pestilential islands,



married Miss Elizabeth Morshead, of Wyde, near Plymouth, and lived and rose to the rank of Colonel; he subsequently added the name of Morshead to that of Anderson, and left a numerous and amiable family.

An order to proceed to the West Indies was, in those days, almost equivalent to a death-warrant; and, indeed, such was the fury of the yellow fever throughout the whole of the islands, and some parts of the continent, that out of seventeen officers of engineers who sailed to that destination, nearly at the same time, about 1795, only two of them survived the expiration of two years. I have heard it asserted that they carried out with them from England their own coffins, which they caused to be fitted with temporary shelves, hinges to the lid and lock and key, so as to come into immediate use, *en attendant*, as a bread and cheese cupboard. Whilst adverting to the awful ravages committed by the yellow fever at this period in these islands, it reminds me of an event recounted to me by Lieutenant Charles Bingham (he died a Lieutenant-Colonel) of the Royal Artillery, in reference to his service

in those islands. He said that about 1795, Lieutenant Stockpole, also of the Royal Artillery, and himself had proceeded to the West Indies; that soon after their arrival, he (Bingham) was attacked with the yellow fever, and was anxiously attended by his devoted friend Stockpole, who, on hearing him in a state bordering on delirium, exclaim that he was burning to death in the fire of hell, seized him in his arms regardless of all personal danger from the contagion, and carried him with all possible speed to a pond, and as he pitched him into the water, shouted:

“That will cool you, my dear fellow, if anything can;” but as quickly snatched him up again, and restored him to his bed.

The medical officer having just arrived to feel Bingham’s pulse, and calculate how many hours he might be expected to live, ordered him to be well rubbed from head to foot, and covered with blankets. A profuse perspiration was the result, and Bingham’s life was saved. Stockpole’s exertions, however, cost him his life: for he caught the infection, and fell a victim to his friendship.

My first occupation at Pendennis Castle, was to proceed with all convenient dispatch with the construction of four cavaliers (raised batteries), on the land front, in order to command the ground on the outside in that direction, which prior to this was very imperfect; and I also completely renewed the palisading in the ditch.

Soon after my arrival, I was ordered to take possession of as much ground on St. Anthony's Head (which is the eastern promontory at the entrance to the harbour, and on which stood the signal-staff), as might, in my opinion, be necessary for the site of a battery, for four pieces of cannon, to form a cross fire with those on the works of Pendennis Castle, and the battery at Crab-key, near the sea-shore. Accordingly, I took a boat, and crossed the harbour to St. Maws, in order to pay my respects to Admiral Spry, the proprietor of the ground at St. Anthony's head. I stated to the Admiral the object of my visit, and that my instructions did not admit of delay, for that I had been ordered to commence by taking possession. He was much offended, dared me at my peril, to break ground on his property, giving me a formal

notice, that if I ventured to trespass on his ground, he would cause me to be immediately apprehended, and sent to Bodmin gaol.

As he finished his menace, I bowed; he then rang the bell, and ordered his gamekeeper to see me off his grounds.

In the course of a day or two, having made all my arrangements, under advice of Mr. Tippet, a solicitor, I landed just within St. Anthony's Head, and scrambled up the precipitous rocks to the signal-staff, where I found Lieutenant Jewel, of the Royal Navy—the signal-officer in charge of the telegraph. He received me with great kindness, and in a most gentlemanly way acquainted me, that in compliance with the Admiral's orders, he must send off a messenger to acquaint him with my arrival. The Admiral's house was, I think, nearly two miles off, and in the meanwhile I proceeded to mark out the ground I required, having people with me prepared with the necessary implements. I had nearly completed the operation when the Admiral came up. Long before he had arrived within hailing-distance, I distinctly understood that he was in a great rage. His

gamekeeper and two assistants, provided with double-barrelled guns, followed close up in his wake, whilst in the distance, some half-dozen of country loons, in smock-frocks, were crowding all sail to join the van. My force consisted of about twenty men, with pickaxes, spades, and bill-hooks.

The Admiral came up in a tremendous passion, repeated his threats to send me to Bodmin gaol ; several times declaring that he would take the law in his own hands, unless I withdrew.

“Not that that shall save you, young gentleman,” he added, “from prosecution ; but it may prevent my ordering my people to bundle you all, neck and heels, down the cliffs into your boats.”

I took the liberty of suggesting that he should instruct his solicitor to communicate with the Ordnance solicitor, Mr. Tippet, on this subject, which, I observed, would put the affair in a proper course of adjustment. In the meantime I continued working, the Admiral and his people looking on, neither silently nor very patiently, until I had completed the marking out

by trenches the whole of the intended battery ; I now turned to the Admiral, and making him a low and respectful bow was about to follow my working party to the boats, when he advanced towards me, his hand extended, and in a most polite and gentlemanly way, said :

“ Our official intercourse, Sir, for to-day being now closed, I must shake hands with you, Sir, and must insist on your dining with me. My behaviour to you was in reference to your official proceeding ; that is now over, and I am very anxious to show you that I am a gentleman as well as yourself.”

Under any other circumstances, I should have declined the honour ; but in order to assure the Admiral that I retained no resentment for his rudeness, I accepted the invitation. Nothing, however, could have been more agreeable, than was the conduct of the Admiral whilst doing the honours of his table. We parted on the most friendly terms, and he instructed his solicitor to confer with Mr. Tippet, and I instructed Mr. Tippet to confer with the Admiral's solicitor, in order to settle the difference betwixt the

Admiral and the Board of Ordnance on the most reasonable terms.

After a long delay, usual on all such occasions, Mr. Tippet acquainted me that the best terms he could amicably obtain were, that the Ordnance should pay to the Admiral a ground-rent amounting to the moderate sum of twenty-five guineas per annum, for about a quarter of an acre of unproductive ground covered with furze, situated close to the telegraph on St. Anthony's Head, including a right of way to and from the quay near the Admiral's house, &c., which Mr. Tippet, having declared, under the circumstances, to be reasonable, I consented thereunto, and executed the necessary document on behalf of the Board of Ordnance. With this arrangement the Admiral was well pleased, the Board of Ordnance was well pleased, and sent me a letter of approbation and thanks ; the solicitors were both well pleased ; and reviewing the difficulties of the case, I felt I had no reason to be displeased.

My duties at Falmouth, or more properly, at Pendennis Castle, were chiefly the erecting four

elevated batteries on the ramparts, denominated cavaliers, directing their fire on the approaches, by the high ground on that side, nearly facing the town. These works were intended to procure a more perfect command over the land side, the only approach open to a regular attack. I must here mention, that the officer commanding the little garrison of Pendennis Castle, was at that time, (1796,) a captain of invalids, I believe a Scotchman ; a bilious little man, one of the very few persons who had survived their former imprisonment in the celebrated black hole at Calcutta. He had suffered greatly through that confinement ; one of his hands was contracted so that he could not extend it, but he invariably carried in that hand one of his gloves by the tips of its fingers with which he marked the state of his temper, by flogging his thigh.

The command of a company of invalids, together with that of the Castle of Pendennis and dependencies, extending down to the water's edge on three sides, and including a small tower and landing-place called Crab-quay, had inspired him with a vast idea of the responsibility which had



fallen upon him, particularly as an active war was at that time raging with France. Under such trying circumstances, the captain resolved to conduct the duties of his important office with a very high hand. He lost no opportunity of expressing his displeasure at the slightest deviation from the strictest rules of the service ; and the manner of his noticing it was by no means calculated to produce a friendly intercourse betwixt himself and those who were placed under his authority. For instance, if he had occasion to make any of these communications, his practice was to send a peremptory order to the individual to attend at his residence in the Old Keep ; but instead of allowing him to enter his quarters, he dodged his approach from a small window near the entrance, and sallied forth meeting his man, some ten to fifteen yards in front of his door, drawing up his head, his right foot advanced and his left arm a-kimbo, whilst his right hand was engaged with the never-failing glove. At three or four yards to his left, and a little to his rear, stood his worthy lieutenant, with a sort of orderly book under his arm.

I was sent for, and met by the Commandant in his usual way. I saluted with a full drop of my hat, which the Captain returned by merely making one cut at his own hat with his glove, and at once commenced the attack :

“ So, Sir, I regret to find that you have been guilty of a most flagrant breach of subordination, highly subversive of military discipline, inasmuch as such conduct is calculated to bring discredit upon His Majesty’s service !” &c.

I was perplexed on hearing this accusation, and expressed my total ignorance of having done anything that could justify it ; upon which the little man having commenced a sharp cutting with his glove, with a smile of contempt, replied :

“ What, Sir, do you mean to prevaricate ?” —a favourite expression with him—and instantly turning to his lieutenant, at whom he flourished his glove, as a signal to proceed in the discharge of his respectable duty, he called out, full of irritation, “ mark that Mr. K——t ;” upon which the worthy lieutenant drew forth from under his arm his book with a clasp, and therein

made a full and perfect *verbatim* entry of the words I had pronounced.

After a little explanation, I proved that he was labouring under a total misapprehension, upon which, without the slightest expression of regret, he turned upon his heel, giving one ferocious cut at his thigh with the glove, and muttered, "Ay, ay, it is well for you, Sir, it is very well." And to gain time in order to close the interview with credit to himself, without the manifestation of the smallest degree of self-condemnation, he, turning again to me, for I had not stirred from the spot, added, "If you had been guilty, I should have considered it as my bounden duty, from which no personal regard for you or your inexperience could have made me swerve for an instant, to have brought you to a court-martial. Hark ye, Sir, let this be a lesson to you, Sir, for the future !!!"

"In what way, Sir?" I quickly retorted.

"Don't reply, Sir: mark that Mr. K——t." Having terminated this affair, he darted off towards the Old Keep, vigorously flourishing his glove.

Notwithstanding these annoyances, I passed my time very agreeably. I subscribed to the balls held at Blunstone's Hotel (since then Wynn's and Pearce's), in the middle of the town of Falmouth; and also attended the balls at Penryn and Truro; and sometimes extended my search after amusements of that sort to the town of Helston. My last visit to the latter place was on Flora-day, the 8th of May (1797). At the time of which I am writing, this was one of the gayest and most interesting festivals of olden times.

At an early hour of the afternoon lads in their best attire, with their full dressed belles, having real flowers in their hair, and carrying large bouquets of wild flowers, began to arrive from the surrounding country; their appearance in the town served as a signal for the residents to sally forth, and join in the promenading about the principal streets. Presently the music, consisting of a drum and fife only, was heard calling those who were willing to dance, to assemble in the market-place, whence they quickly advanced in couples, dancing through the streets to a

particular tune played on the fife and drum. At certain corners of streets or other fixed places, they all stopped and faced each other in country dance order, when the leading couple danced down to the bottom ; they then proceeded as before in couples to the next halting place, upon which the couple at the head began to dance down as the first had done, and the whole again progressed to the next corner. In this manner the procession went on until every couple had had its turn : those joining the dance on the way after leaving the market-place, no matter who they were, went to the bottom of the couples that had not danced down.

In this the higher classes joined without reserve or distinction, all mixing in perfect equality ; and the party I was with, which had required several carriages to bring them from Falmouth, shared in this truly innocent and joyous amusement. We had dined at one of the hotels, and by five o'clock turned out to join the dancers in the streets. At about seven o'clock, long before the sun had disappeared, all those usually admitted to the subscription balls

retired to the assembly-room, and kept it up until twelve, when the whole dispersed.

At length, towards the latter part of the month of April, I received an order from General Morse, acquainting me that the Master-General of the Ordnance had appointed me to serve in Canada.

I was surprised at receiving a visit from Lieutenant St. John, of Plymouth, and from whom I had purchased one of two ponies I now wanted to sell. He soon informed me that he wished to re-purchase him, and thankfully handed me the amount I had previously paid him; exultingly declaring, as he mounted his purchase, that so desirous had he felt to have him back, that he had made up his mind to give me five guineas more for him rather than be disappointed; to which I quickly replied, that having received an order to embark for Canada, I should have been glad to have got rid of him for half the money.

Through the activity of my man, Lilicrap, a raffle was got up for the other pony, but one of the chances could not be disposed of, I there-

fore took it myself, and desired Lilicrap to throw for me. In less than one hour, I observed him gallop to my door on the pony, which he had won. I immediately sold him, at a small loss on the price he had originally cost me.

## CHAPTER VII.

I leave Falmouth to go to Quebec—Mutiny in the Fleet at Plymouth—I return to Falmouth to embark there — Passage to Halifax — Calm in the Bay of Biscay—Tricks of the Woolwich cadets—I volunteer to board a large ship at sea, believed to be French—Narrow escape Banks of Newfoundland—Land at Cape Canso.

I LOST no time in proceeding to London in the hope of procuring a passage in one of the Ordnance transports, which in those days it was the practice to despatch to Quebec with the first convoy in the spring. I took the road *viâ* Plymouth, for the purpose of making some final reports to General Mercer, on the state of the works I had been superintending at Pendennis Castle; and on my crossing the river Tamar,



from Tor Point to Plymouth Dock, at a short time before sun-set, I witnessed a very imposing sight. Every ship of war then lying at anchor in the harbour, and they were very numerous, had her yards and masts manned—the whole of the sailors being dressed in blue jackets and white trousers—and on the top of each mast a man stood upright; but on the top of the highest mast in the fleet, the man standing thereon was engaged playing “Rule Britannia,” on a fiddle. As soon as the gun had been fired, which announced that the sun had descended below the horizon, the whole of the masts and yards, with the speed of magic, were stripped of their living ornaments.

I must here observe that though the crews of the British ships of war, lying in the harbours at home, had mutinied, and had sent all their officers on shore, the severest discipline was, nevertheless, maintained by a certain number of the sailors, who had been selected by their companions to discharge the duties of the officers; whilst others, denominated delegates, formed general councils on board of the flag-ships: and I have heard it asserted that at

no period, before or since then, has there been so much flogging practised. The slightest offence against the naval articles of war, was instantly visited with punishment, inflicted with extreme rigour. Many were the adventures daily related on shore of narrow escapes experienced by officers of the royal navy, from men who availed themselves of this temporary power to revenge real or supposed ill-treatment. Other stories were also current of a very different character, amongst them the following :

The gallant Captain Nagle (Sir Edmund), commanding the 'Artois' of forty-four guns, had been out during a six or eight weeks' cruize, and just at this critical moment was returning into Plymouth Sound, in order to refit and prepare for another expedition ; but the 'Artois' had no sooner been recognized in the offing, and reported to the council of delegates, than a well-manned boat, carrying a certain number of delegates, was despatched off to revolutionize her. On arriving alongside of the frigate, the absence of any officer in the boat no doubt created surprise, and excited curiosity amongst the officers and crew of

the frigate. This was not lessened when the principal delegate, standing up in the boat, announced in a tone of authority, that the command of every ship had been taken from the officers, who had been sent on shore, never to return on board until the demands of the sailors for redress of certain complaints they had preferred should be granted; that, in the meantime, every ship's crew in harbour had appointed their own officers from amongst themselves, and had sent delegates to the general council on board of the flag-ship.

“And now we call upon you,” added the orator addressing the sailors, “to do the same; but if you refuse to comply, we have only to tell you that we shall immediately bring down the ‘Powerful’ and the ‘Gibraltar’ alongside of you, and blow you clean out of the water.”

Immediately upon the close of this thundering speech, Nagle called his crew aft and said: “Well, my lads, what do you mean to do? Are you willing to turn me and your officers adrift, like so much useless lumber, or shall we up helm and go out to sea for a fortnight, and pass that time in a far more profitable manner?”

Who knows if we may not pick up a stray galleon or two, whilst these fellows are kicking up a rumpus in port.      At all events, the business is sure to be as well done without as with you !    What say ye, my hearties ?”

Upon which they all shouted with one voice, “ We will obey you, captain, to a man.”

“ Then helm’s a-lee, and three cheers my brave lads,” Nagle vociferated at the top of his voice.    The ‘ Artois ’ shot off to sea, and did not return until after the mutiny had been put down.

Having taken leave of General Mercer and all my friends in the artillery and engineers at Plymouth Dock, I proceeded to London by one of the fast coaches of those times, carrying six passengers inside, which only stopped during one night on the way, at the London Inn at Exeter, and I entered the capital on the evening of the third day.

Finding it more difficult to get out to Quebec than I had anticipated, a passage in a transport not being to be had, I consulted friends who had been in Canada ; they agreed that the season was then (July) too far advanced to procure a

passage direct to Quebec, and I was advised to go to Halifax.

My heavy baggage having been sent off by one of Russell's eight-horsed waggons, I left home on the 29th of July, 1797, and proceeded to Falmouth.

The 'Swallow' packet was a most wretched vessel, about one hundred and ten tons burden, carrying a crew of twenty-eight men and a surgeon, and six four-pounders; she had been a French privateer, and was so low between decks that, when sitting in the cabin at dinner, the top of my head was within a few inches of the beams. Captain Jones, the commander, was a short square-built man, a very unfinished gentleman, and so mercenary that, although a fellow-passenger and myself had paid fifty-four guineas for our passage, the whole of the live stock amounted to eighteen fowls, nine ducks, six geese, two sheep and one pig. Three dozen bottles of port wine and six dozen of porter, with three or four bottles of rum and brandy, constituted the liquor department. He provided not a single article of dried fruit, nor any kind of biscuits superior to the commonest flinty

hard brown biscuits, which at sea is impudently called bread.

On our embarking, Captain Jones was pressed to fix as nearly as he could the probable length of the passage, and he, having due regard to the unfavourable period of the year, and with all the necessary *ifs* which sailors unavoidably introduce on such occasions, and barring all accidents, ventured to assure us we should be in Halifax harbour in the course of twenty-eight to thirty days: adding that he should keep well to the northward in order to be at all times ready to profit by the north-westerly winds so prevalent at that period of the year, and also to avoid any chance of being shipwrecked on the frightful Sable Island, which stands exactly in the direct course to Halifax; and is so low that, as soon as a vessel is near enough to allow its people on board to see the island, the vessel is in such shallow water as to endanger her safety. In the course of conversation, I discovered that neither the captain nor any of the officers or seamen on board of the 'Swallow' packet, had ever been on the coast of North or South

America, and that Mr. Cochrane, my fellow-passenger, was the only individual on board who had ever crossed the Atlantic Ocean.

The wind from the north-west quarter, with which we had sailed, was very moderate, the sky exceedingly bright, the sea much smoother than I had anticipated, and the brig glided along under the lee of the land towards the Lizard Point with very little rolling or pitching, yet there was quite enough motion to keep me on deck during the dinner, having no inclination to take any kind of food, this being my first acquaintance with the sea. The sun went down filling the sky with his glory, and shortly afterwards we began to pass on clear of the double light-house on the Lizard Point, when we felt the loss of that shelter from the north-west swell, and this very soon sent me to my cabin. I remained in my bed a week, taking no interest in any thing, except when a strange sail was reported to be in sight—which, in times of war, usually excites certain apprehensions. Such, however, was my suffering, that these reports raised in me a kind of hope that the stranger

might be an enemy, and be the means of putting an end to my intolerable discomfort.

Hitherto the weather had been very moderate ; the gentle winds, steadily from the north-west, had carried us to about the middle of the Bay of Biscay, where it gradually decreased, and ultimately failed altogether, leaving us to roll and tumble, an unmanageable log, without power sufficient to alter the position of the head of the vessel. In this condition, notwithstanding the total absence of any wind, the heavy rolling sea from the north-west quarter, continued unabated, so that when lying broadside to the sea, the vessel would roll from side to side, the gunwales, turn about, plunging under water, and the yards nearly dipping into the sea. After this, by way of a change, the vessel would begin to half roll and half pitch too, sometimes presenting the head, sometimes the stern, to face the enormous mountains as smooth as oil, whilst they swiftly raised us high above the horizon, and as swiftly dropped us into the gulf below as they hurried on at the rate of twenty miles per hour, in order to dash them-



selves upon the distant shore of France and Spain.

Notwithstanding all this, I soon got my sea legs, as a sailor would describe it, that is, I acquired the art of balancing myself on deck. My fellow passenger having alluded to a friend of his, Andrew Durnford, who had been educated at the Woolwich Academy, I informed him of the treatment he received there from his seniors.

Young Durnford was cold one winter's evening, and seated himself by the barrack-room fire ; he was ordered, by the head of the room, to take post near the door, observing that it was a place quite good enough for a "newks" (youngest in the room). Durnford resisted, but he was very soon satisfied that he could not enforce his claim to the fourth part of the frontage of the fire-place. The morning was frosty, and the ground covered with snow, yet he was ordered to go to the pump, distant one hundred and fifty yards, and fill the tea-kettle ; then to bring three basins full of water for the others to wash themselves. Afterwards

he had to wash the cups and saucers, then toast the bread, spread the cloth, and in short make all the preparations for breakfast. Yet no part of these occupations provided anything for himself; for although he had to go to the hall, and carry thence to the barrack-room, the usual allowance of a basin of milk for each, he himself was not permitted to sit down with his brother cadets, but ordered to take his bowl of milk in the hall. Moreover, the white cloth or kerseymere breeches and waistcoat, belonging to the head of the room, the constant uniform of the cadets at that time, he must clean with whiting to perfection. These were but a very few of the ordinary duties expected of a newks, who was often tumbled out of bed, whenever the head of the room fancied he should like a pint of porter and a few oysters.

On such occasions he was hailed, "Newks, come Sir, you sleepy-headed fellow, turn out Sir, and be off; get me some oysters and porter, bread and butter, and cheese and vinegar, and let me see—and some gin too: now, Sir, begone."

“ But how am I to get out of the barracks, and of the Warren ?” inquired Durnford, in a tone of lamentation.

“ Oh, that shall not be any difficulty,” he was instantly informed, “ you must get out at the back window, where one of the bars is easily removed, and then climb over the roof of the shed, where the breeches and waistcoats are cleaned, and then it is but four or five feet higher to get over the wall ; you must mind how you get over the iron spikes (six or seven inches long), and then you must hang over into the Plumstead Road, and drop into it ; you can do that very well, it is not more than eighteen feet high, and that’s nothing of a drop.”

“ Well, but how am I to get in again ?” poor Durnford most piteously exclaimed.

“ We shall look out in about half an hour for you, and let down a basket, into which you must put all the things, and we’ll draw them up carefully,” the head of the room replied.

“ Why, you can’t draw me up in that way, can you ?” inquired Durnford.

“ Draw you up indeed, who ever dreamt of

such a thing? Draw you up, you young monkey, upon my word there's impudence! Why, as soon as you have delivered the things in the basket, take yourself off, and walk about, or go to sleep, or go to the devil until morning, when you may walk into the Warren by the gates without a question being asked by any one."

Poor Durnford threatened to complain to the officer on duty. This unguarded declaration brought on him a systematical course of all the usual severe tortures which such refractory gentlemen newkses never fail to experience. He was accordingly, each night, either roasted, bolstered or cramped without mercy, when he at length actually carried his repeated threats into effect; but as he could not identify the operators, the officer could not punish any one. Increased resistance, brought on him increased tortures.

Accordingly between the hours of study, Durnford on entering his barrack-room was informed that the singing-master had expressed his marked disapprobation at his absence from instruction; but, he rejoiced on discovering that

something gentlemanly formed part of the instruction at the academy. An elegant young music-master quickly presented himself, and after some expressions of reproof at his neglect, he desired his pupil to let him hear the sound of his voice, and having understood that he never yet had received any instruction in music, he expressed the utmost astonishment. The teacher of the elegant accomplishment now raised his eyes in disgust at a state of such gross ignorance, and finally exclaimed: "Why you must have been brought up in a workhouse."

After a few hints, the merest rudiments, the pretended master of music, who, it need scarcely be told, was one of the elder gentlemen cadets, disguised in plain clothes, now proclaimed him a "conceited, obstinate and ignorant ass," an excuse for giving him a severe caning.

Next day, in like manner, a boxing-master presented himself to give him a few ideas in "the noble art of self-defence," absolutely necessary to every military gentleman, adding: "What, Sir, would become of you if in action you should either break your sword or be disarmed? what, I say would you do? You must

use your fist, a valueless appendage to your body, unless directed with science. Now, Sir, put on these gloves, and defend yourself. I'm at your nose," and Durnford was instantly rolling under the bed. "Oh! I beg pardon, Sir," cried Mendoza (Mr. Stackpole, brother of the late Captain Stackpole, R.N.), "but I could not have suspected you had no more spunk in you than a caterpillar. Now, Sir, stand up again; never mind your nose, you can wash off the blood after next round. Now, Sir, I say," the professor throwing his arms widely extended, "strike me as hard as you can; anywhere, Sir, above the line." But next moment, the second round, stretched the pupil under the grate.

At this time, the regulation in regard of the hair was, that it should be allowed to grow a foot or fifteen inches long at the back of the head. This was tied with black ribbon so as to form a queue, commencing close to the head; the sides hung down over the ears, and cut off level with their tips; and the top was cut very short, and rubbed up with hard pomatum. But few days after the singing and boxing

lessons, at an early hour before morning parade, a dashing young hair-dresser inquired for the recently admitted gentleman cadet ; and Durnford was pointed out.

“ I attend, Sir, upon you for a short time, to get your head in decent order.”

Our friend hurried on his dressing-gown and was quickly seated, when the comb was rattled through the tangled hair without mercy ; and after a liberal besmearing of pomatum and powder, the latter filling his eyes, his queue was formed ; but it was tied so close to the roots, that instead of pending gracefully between his shoulders, it remained in a perfectly horizontal position ; whilst the skin had been drawn so tight that he could not shut his eyes. The performer next attended to the top, which he declared was growing so perversely, that much time and trouble would be required to make him look like a gentleman ; and immediately applied a hard crust, and rubbed it back until his head was covered with deep scratches. Durnford's family withdrew him from the Royal Military Academy, and purchased for him a commission in the Line.

During ten days we remained becalmed—tossing and rolling over the north-west swell, which had in no degree abated. I here made some observations on the space betwixt the top of one wave and the top of the next, which I ascertained to be from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards.

The heat of the sun shining on the deck was exceedingly annoying, but we suffered still more from the effluvia arising from the sea; or, more properly, from the vast accumulation of every description of refuse and filth which is daily thrown overboard from a ship at sea; so that the surface, to the distance of many yards around, was covered with the offals of poultry, the sweepings of the pig-sty and sheep-pen, vegetable waste and other equally corruptible matters, all of which, through the powers of attraction, obstinately clung to the vessel, and, to our great surprise, had continued unconsumed by fish, especially the shark, of which up to this time we had not seen one. This rubbish had now become putrid: moreover, the calm had been so perfect, that the surface of the sea emitted a very fetid effluvium. It thus became necessary



to hoist out one of the boats, and actually tow the vessel to the distance of a mile at least from the spot.

We had now been fifteen days at sea, one half of the time calculated by the captain as the duration of our voyage, yet we had not run more than a tenth part of the distance.

At length, thirty-five days after our departure from Falmouth, the captain estimated the position of the ship to be about three hundred miles to the north of Corvo, one of the Western Islands, or the Azores, just about half way from Falmouth to Halifax. The wind was still blowing from the north-west, was light, but the sea high, when a strange sail was observed bearing south-west. This ship was steering for the British Channel, and consequently we approached one another very fast ; so that, by mid-day, we were sufficiently near to ascertain that the stranger was a large merchant ship. Jones, commanding a brig with six 4-pounders, and a crew of twenty-eight men, immediately gave chase, upon which the stranger made all sail possible right away from us ; our pursuit was so successful, that,

in twenty-four hours we hoisted our colours, and the merchantman did the same, showing a red flag with a white cross. A shot was fired across her bows, and she shortened sail. We ran up to within hail, when to our interrogatories, the commander informed us he came from the island of St. Thomas, and was bound to Copenhagen. Not believing this, I volunteered my services as a boarder.

Jones took me at my word, and down I went to arm myself for the occasion. I loaded my horse-pistols, each with a ball and slugs ; I put in new flints, and stuck the pistols into my sash. I then belted on a ship's cutlass, the uniform sword of the engineers being, in my opinion, a very unfit tool for such service ; and instead of my military hat, covered over the crown with a piece of bear's-skin, forming a queer kind of compound betwixt a hat and a helmet, I preferred a plain round hat, being far lighter and certainly much more convenient.

The boats were now alongside, taking in the volunteers eight in each boat, every man armed with a cutlass and a musket. The first mate took the command of one of the boats, and

I had the honour of being intrusted with that of the other, at my special request. This was the first time in my life I had got into a boat at sea, and which was running mountains high as a sailor would have described it.

When it came to my turn to go over the side of the 'Swallow,' and descend into the boat, I discovered that it was a far more difficult affair than I had expected ; and again, when we had proceeded towards the ship about half way to her, I began to contemplate with some anxiety the means by which I should accomplish my ascent, for the ship appeared very light, and as she rolled from us I could at times almost see her keel, presenting an insurmountable wall. I looked in vain for some rope's-end hanging over the side, by which I might have a chance of hoisting myself up, but this had been carefully attended to, and removed by the people on board.

At length we observed, that at each roll the main and fore chains almost touched the water, upon which it was agreed with the mate in the other boat, that he should board by the fore chains on one side, whilst I should

do the same by the main chains on the other.

“Now, give way there, my lads,” was the order, and in a few minutes we had arrived at our stations, when we instantly laid in the oars, and with a boat-hook at each end of the boat kept her off sufficiently to prevent being injured or sunk by the rolling of this large ship.

“Now is our time,” I exclaimed, as the ship was rolling over towards my boat. “Now is the time for it : together into the main chains, my lads,” addressing three of the men in the boat, who were at the next roll to be followed by as many more, if they could not find room to rush in all together ; and so catching hold of the chains I instantly scrambled on to the plate, and flying up with the rolling of the ship ; but in an instant I discovered I was the only one who had left the boat, and at the same moment one of the enemy made a thrust at me with a boarding-pike.

In this predicament, I had no alternative but to seize the pike with both hands, when a sharp struggle commenced for the possession of this

formidable weapon, and we performed the “pull devil, pull baker,” during several seconds ; but as soon as the ship rolled over again towards my boat, by which I was placed in a leaning position, my back downwards, almost on the water, and in a horizontal position—for I was holding by the pike only—my antagonist, very scientifically, gave up the contest, and allowed me the undisputed possession of the weapon ; and I, at the same moment, fell backwards into the sea.

The men in the boat, luckily foreseeing my fate, caught me before I had time to sink, for laden as I was with pistols, cutlass, &c., I must have gone down like a stone. By this mishap, my pistols having been so wetted as to be useless, I threw them down in the boat ; and my clothes streaming with water, and without a hat, which I had lost, I flourished my cutlass at the men who ought to have followed me into the chains, and declared I would show no mercy to the man who should again behave like a lubber.

We all stood ready for the next roll, and together secured our footing on the plate,

whence we all leaped over the bulwark on to the deck ; whilst, at the same moment, we had the pleasure of seeing our companions, with the mate from the other boat, gain possession of the forecastle by the fore chains.

The attention of the ship's crew was by this event divided, and instead of keeping together, they scattered, and the deck was forthwith covered by our people and their's fighting, man to man ; but such was the confusion, that I can only relate what fell to my share.

On my advancing from the gangway, with my cutlass raised high over head, one of our opponents ran at me with his musket pointed at my face, and when at the distance of a couple of yards from me, he pulled the trigger—fortunately for me, the priming had been damaged, so that the powder went on fizzing away, which gave me time to run at him. This caused him to retreat hastily, his only hope resting on the discharge of the musket, which would not go off. All this was the work of five or six seconds at most, by which time I had backed my friend, against the cabin skylight, through which he presently fell. At the

same moment the musket, which he still grasped tightly in his hands, went off, discharging its contents in a vertical direction amongst the sails and rigging. At this instant, the master, who had stood aloft without seeming to take any part in the proceedings, now perceiving that we were by far too powerful for his crew, ran about the deck with up-lifted hands forbidding any resistance, and declared that his men had acted without his authority. He endeavoured to excuse himself, in very broken English, aided by all the signs and protestations he could devise—assuring us that he had never for a moment intended to oppose our investigation of his papers. The fight now terminated, and the master's papers were produced, by which a tolerably clear case was made out that the ship was a Dane. We, nevertheless, maintained that the vessel belonged to France, in which we were justified, to a certain extent, having discovered that the greater part of the crew could speak the French language well, and no other; and only one man out of the whole could speak the Danish language.

Our mate, who understood this business very

well, having served on board of a privateer, commenced a very active search after the real papers, which it was supposed had been concealed; but he was unsuccessful. Whilst this was going on, the master was exceedingly civil, and invited me to partake of refreshments in the cabin. Although no other papers were found, yet a variety of circumstances increased our suspicions, and almost convinced us that the vessel did belong to France, still we could not detain her; but in revenge of some cutlass wounds which two of our people had sustained, we helped ourselves very freely to several boxes of oranges, two or three bags of coffee, a quantity of sugar, a cask of rum, &c.; and to compensate myself for the ducking, and danger of being piked, or shot through the head, or drowned, I merely took two cases of Martinique liqueurs, which the master almost forced me to accept, in consideration of my not demanding that the man who had so pertinaciously endeavoured to shoot me in the face should be hung up at the fore-yard-arm, and also for the like humane treatment of the man who had so cleverly given me a cold bath.



On our preparing to leave the ship, we discovered that two of the crew were very dangerously ill, one of them dying through the want of medical aid; we therefore acquainted the master that we should send our surgeon to his assistance, which was fulfilled, and this saved one sick man's life. As I was leaving the vessel, the master asked me the name of our brig; but when I told him that it was the 'Swallow,' a King's post-office packet, he smiled as he shook his head significantly, to mark his disbelief; and then said: "No, no, you pee one prifateer!" and he might have added, "or perhaps one pirate." We nevertheless conferred on these people a very important service, by giving two of their men medical assistance and medicines, without which one of them must have ultimately lost his life.

After this adventure, we pursued our course just as well without capturing, or rather without carrying on with us the Dane, for, as a packet, we could have no letter of marque, and therefore could not make a prize; had we attempted it, on arriving into Halifax harbour, the first King's ship that might have chosen to send a boat

on board of her, would have secured her as a good prize, and there can be no doubt that some one of them would have done so.

Having sailed on during many days under varied circumstances, I one afternoon inquired of the captain how long he thought it might be before we should complete the voyage. "Let me see," replied our best navigator in the world, and a man not easily surprised into a hasty or unguarded statement; "let me see—this is Thursday," as he carefully passed his hand very slowly over the four-days-old bristles on his chin; "why, if the wind will but continue just as it is now, I think we ought to be on the Banks (of Newfoundland) by Monday afternoon."

Early on the following morning I happened to be on deck, when I perceived a very material change had taken place in the colour of the water, which, from a sort of neutral tint, had assumed a pale-greenish shade, which I suppose was a sea-green. Upon this, I expressed a strong opinion that we were in soundings, at which our worthy captain laughed, and sneeringly asked me where I had learnt how to be

so good a judge of such matters, when the oldest sailors were frequently deceived by such appearances. I nevertheless insisted upon it that we were on the Banks, without succeeding to procure the heaving of the lead. At length, well aware of Jones' mercenary temperament, I offered to bet him five shillings that we were actually in soundings. My friend was too good a judge to miss such an opportunity of obtaining five shillings without risk, and gave orders to bring the vessel to, and heave the deep-sea lead.

Whilst these preparations were making, I sent over the stern a cod-fish line and hook well baited, and before the deep-sea lead had reached the bottom, I brought a fine cod-fish to the top. Jones had lost his bet, for it was quickly ascertained that we were in seventy fathoms water, or nearly passed the Banks over which we must have been running nearly all night. He, therefore, to get some compensation for such a severe loss, directed that all the lines in the vessel should be put into action, and in the course of about four hours, we had pulled up more than one hundred and fifty cod-fish, and

fifteen halibuts. Some of these fish were salted, and others served out to the crew, by which friend Jones economised the ship's provisions, which began to be very scarce, and during many days previous to this, we had been on half allowance.

This bet no doubt saved us from shipwreck, for it proved that we were at least one hundred and fifty leagues ahead of our reckoning; and the only way I could account for so great an error, was that during the long time we had been becalmed in the Bay of Biscay, we must have been imperceptibly carried away to the westward by a strong current.

About thirteen years after this period, I experienced an exactly similar event, also on board a post-office packet, on this occasion bound to Lisbon, when we had experienced a long succession of south-westerly gales at the mouth of the Channel and in the Bay of Biscay; and on reaching the latitude of Lisbon, we sailed away east, thinking to be in the Tagus before next morning; but we discovered that the position of the vessel had been carried some very considerable distance to the westward,

requiring twenty-four hours more to enter the Tagus than we had at first calculated on.

In our voyage to Halifax our provisions of all sorts had become so much reduced, that we found it necessary to run for that part of the coast for which the wind was most favourable, and we accordingly came to anchor in Cape Canso Harbour, where there was at that time (1797) but one settler.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Go into several harbours—Arrive at Halifax—Lieutenants Roscridge and Mercer, R.A.—Prince Edward and Major Stratton—I dine with the Prince and Madame St. Laurent—I dine with Sir John Wentworth, Thesiger, &c.—Prince Edward gives me letters to introduce me at New York, and I embark in the ‘Carteret’ packet—Loss of the ‘Stag’—Passengers to New York—Water-spouts off the Capes of the Chesapeake—Arrival at New York—Yellow-fever.

I WAS greatly delighted at finding myself on the American continent ; the air was purer, and seemed to give fresh vigour to my faculties. I soon discovered that I might, without a licence, shoot game of any sort, and eat it or carry it away ; and catch all the fish in the

harbour without giving offence to any one. In short, I could ramble to the right, to the left, or go right a-head, without meeting with the slightest notice board, warning me not to commit an act of trespass; besides which, I could gather cranberries enough to load a larger vessel than the 'Swallow' packet brig, and ship them without fear of being prosecuted.

Here our captain, for the sum of ten pounds, purchased a bullock from the settler: but as the animal was far away in the woods, where he was at full liberty to run in any direction, it was agreed that a party should be sent from the 'Swallow' early on the next day, armed with guns to shoot the bullock, as the owner stated he would be found much too wild to drive to the landing-place. I was delighted at the prospect of an excursion so full of novelty, and promising much sport. On landing next morning from the boat, I sprained my ankle rather severely, which compelled me to remain in charge of the boat, whilst the rest of the party pushed forward, carrying with them two days' provisions in case of need, and attended by the owner of the bullock.

All started in high spirits, every man carrying a musket, plenty of powder, flints, balls and small shot. I saw them depart with an aching heart, and threw myself back on the stern seat, whilst the head of the boat was hauled on shore, fully anticipating a tedious time of it. No plan had been formed, nor any arrangements made as to what was to be done in the event of the bullock hunt keeping the hunters away all night. These matters crossed my thoughts as time advanced, and in this state of mind, sometimes watching, without interest, a large flock of small birds which flew from one projecting point of the sandy beach to another, carefully describing a wide curve in passing my boat; and then sometimes casting an unmeaning look into the water, a foot or eighteen inches deep, but very transparent, which enabled me to see distinctly the rocks partly buried in sand and interspersed with sea-weeds.

At length I fancied I saw something moving about on the bottom, which at first I mistook to be the weeds agitated by the action of the tide. Upon closer investigation, I discovered



innumerable lobsters crawling about in every direction. My desire to catch some was instantly excited to a high degree ; but possessing no other utensils than the oars, a boat-hook, and a musket, my chance of gratifying this desire seemed very remote. It occurred to me that it was possible to strike one of them with the point of the boat-hook, and either stun or crush him ; but this could not be repeated, as the commotion it must unavoidably occasion would frighten away the others ; I then considered that a shot from my musket, if successful, would at best produce a similar result. At length it occurred to me that I might perhaps spear one through the body with the thin end of the iron ramrod of my musket : this was immediately tried, and by slowly pushing forward the ramrod, first into the water, and then to within a few inches of one of the lobsters, before I attempted to dart it into him, I succeeded perfectly without creating any alarm. In order to retain them in the vicinage I threw large fragments of sea-biscuits into the water.

I was thus encouraged to persevere, and by the time my party returned, just before dark,

I had secured about one hundred of the finest lobsters I have ever seen—some of them of extraordinary dimensions.

Our sailors were very much exhausted, having failed in every attempt to drive the bullock towards the harbour, which ultimately left them no alternative but to shoot him, at a distance, as they stated, of at least ten miles from the boat, where the animal was cut up to render him portable, and each man shouldering his portion, they returned, but not before they had cooked on the spot as much as every one of them could eat.

We left Canso Harbour at daylight next morning for Halifax, but so much did Jones fear being blown away to sea, and perhaps wrecked on Sable Island, that each night we ran into one of the harbours which abound on this coast; thus, the first night we anchored in Country Harbour, then in Ship Harbour, and lastly in Crow Harbour, whence we ventured on to Halifax Harbour—the whole of which we performed without pilot, being entirely guided by the admirably correct charts by Debarres.

All these harbours were, at that time, almost

totally uninhabited ; and such was the value of land, that Mr. Cochran offered to make me a present of forty thousand acres on the borders of Country Harbour. I declined to accept this, being unwilling to pay sixpence per acre, the cost of the survey, which the donor regarded as more than the land was worth.

The view of Halifax from the sea is very interesting, and on our landing we were met on the wharf near Williams' store—a very extensive building with a flat roof—by a large concourse of persons of both sexes, of all ranks, of all ages and of all colours, for there were numerous negroes, some West Indian creoles, some Micmacs savages, a few Esquimaux, and a great number of Europeans, amongst whom were many officers and privates of the 7th Fusiliers, and some of the Royal Artillery.

I was met by Lieutenants Roscridge and Mercer, of the Royal Artillery, both old Woolwich Academy friends ; and after the usual expressions of satisfaction at meeting, and all sorts of inquiries after mutual friends, they lodged me at a tolerably good inn ; and it was

settled that we should mess together. The officer commanding the Artillery was Brevet-Major Desbrizay, and Captains Wright and Dodd, both on the staff of his Royal Highness Prince Edward. The only officer of Engineers, then at Halifax, was Brevet-Major Stratton, a very worthy fellow, in high favour with his Royal Highness, afterwards Duke of Kent, in consequence of being an excellent amateur comedian. On the day following my arrival, he lost the Prince's favour through his own folly and want of judgment.

The story related at the time I was there is as follows: Stratton, although commanding engineer, had no house provided by the Ordnance for his residence; but having discovered that the house or palace which had been, I believe, purposely erected for his Royal Highness Prince Edward, or at least had been greatly improved to render it a fit residence for a member of the royal family, was standing on property belonging to the Board of Ordnance. Stratton most foolishly wrote a letter to the Board of Ordnance, stating the fact that such a house had been built on Ordnance property;

and soliciting that he might be allowed to occupy it as commanding royal engineer. The Board of Ordnance, without duly entering into the consequences or inconveniences which might result, sent a Board's order, no doubt in civil terms, but still it was a Board's order, addressed to Lieutenant-General his Royal Highness Prince Edward, commanding at Halifax, requiring that the house adverted to by Major Stratton, be immediately, or perhaps as soon as convenient, given up to that officer as the future residence of the commanding royal engineer at Halifax.

This letter had reached the hands of his Royal Highness by the mail which the 'Swallow' packet had carried out. On the day of my arrival, I had waited on Major Stratton to pay my respects, and report my being on my way to Quebec, when it was agreed that he should introduce me to his Royal Highness on the grand parade at guard mounting, on the following day. At the proper hour I was on the parade, and I shall never forget the severe glance which his Royal Highness cast towards Stratton on seeing him advance to

pay his respects to him. The Major having introduced me to the Prince, his Royal Highness said in the kindest manner: "How is my old friend, your father?" and put to me several obliging and flattering questions; after which his countenance assumed an air of displeasure, as he fixed his piercing eyes on Stratton; and quickly drew from his breast-pocket a letter, and handed it to the Major, saying: "Read that letter, Sir; and then tell me if you have treated me like a gentleman." It need scarcely be stated that this was the letter from the Board of Ordnance above mentioned.

Stratton seemed overwhelmed with embarrassment. The communication ought not to have required two minutes reading, but he remained speechless with it in his hand, unable to get beyond the first two or three lines, fully sensible of the folly of his conduct; his Royal Highness then sternly addressing Stratton, said: "You may write to the Board, Sir, and state that I shall not surrender possession of my residence," and contemptuously turned away.

I had not been many days at Halifax, when

I had the honour to receive a card stating, that "Major Vesey had been commanded by his Royal Highness to invite me to dine at his country residence," on Bedford Basin, a few miles from town. The party was very small, and amongst them were Sir John and Lady Wentworth, with the aide-de-camp to the Governor, Captain Thesiger, a Captain Lyman, and the Prince's staff, Major Vesey, Captains Smith, O'Hara, Dodd, Wright, and Lieutenant Mercer of the Royal Artillery.

After dinner, about three glasses of wine only were allowed, when the whole company followed his Royal Highness to join Madame St. Laurent, Lady Wentworth, Mrs. Dodd, and, I believe, Mrs. Wright. Coffee and tea being over, the Prince, condescendingly, sang a duet with Madame St. Laurent, accompanied by Captain Smith, a first-rate pianist. Having passed a very pleasant day, Mercer and myself jumped into a gig we had hired for the occasion, and by ten o'clock we were all at home in Halifax.

I had made every effort to procure a passage in any vessel proceeding to Quebec, without success, and to attempt going thither by land

was regarded in much the same light, as now would be attempting to traverse the whole of the continent to the Pacific Ocean ; I, therefore, remained full of perplexity as to the course I ought to pursue. Whilst in this state of doubt, one morning the waiter hastily entered my apartment, announcing “an aide-de-camp, Sir, from his Royal Highness Prince Edward.” When that officer entered, he stated that he had been commanded by the Prince to acquaint me that I must quit the garrison within twenty-four hours. Then, to lessen any alarm this announcement might create, explained that his Royal Highness had directed him to assure me that the order had no reference to any part of my conduct ; briefly adding, that the Prince having, in a few instances, detained officers to serve at Halifax, who had touched there like myself, on their way to join their respective corps in Canada, General Prescott, who, at this time, was Captain-General of British North America, had sent a letter to his Royal Highness, requesting that he would in future press all officers under similar circumstances with myself to proceed to their destinations



with the least delay, and not to detain them at Halifax. Finally, I was told that the Prince desired to see me at nine o'clock on the following morning at the palace.

By daylight on the following morning, I was so fearful of being late in paying my respects to the Prince, that I had sent off my luggage to the packet that had just come into harbour, and was at the iron gate of the palace three-quarters of an hour too soon. Not knowing exactly what to do, I stood mechanically near the gate with my back turned towards it, but had not been in that position two minutes, when I heard a voice from within calling to me by my name to come forward. This was Prince Edward, who, as I entered, said in the kindest manner, "Landmann, I am glad to see you before the time I had appointed; I suppose you are anxious to embark, be assured that I regret to have been under the necessity of sending you such an order, for I had intended to employ you here in a particular way, but General Prescott has deranged my plan for serving the son of my old friend the professor. I have written two letters for you to take to New

York, and I desire you will not fail to deliver them personally, they are of consequence, and you will find both Mr. Beech and Mr. Badcock very ready to afford you any assistance you may require."

I promised to obey his Royal Highness's commands most punctually, and was about to take my leave, when the Prince said "go in and take charge of something which Madame St. Laurent has to send to New York." I found Madame alone, who, after a short conversation, handed to me a parcel, which she said was a present of harp-strings for Madame de Buc, in Greenwich Street, New York, and which I was required also to deliver personally.

On returning to the lawn in front of the palace, I found his Royal Highness engaged with a man in examining the leg of a mahogany dining-table, which had been nearly broken, when the workman in reply to the Prince's desire to be informed if it could be well repaired, said: "Why, yes, certainly, it can be patched up somehow, for a while, your Royal Highness." But his Royal Highness quickly retorted: "If it is worth doing at all,

it is worth doing well ;” a maxim I have never forgotten. Prince Edward then turning to me shook my hand very kindly and said, “ I wish you a safe arrival at New York ; and although you are very young to be travelling alone through a foreign country, yet I place great confidence in your steadiness, which I have noticed with satisfaction, and I anticipate that you will do nothing that can involve you in any kind of difficulty ; take care that you waste no time on the way, and arrive at Quebec as soon as possible.” I thanked the Prince in the best manner I was able, bowed, and instantly embarked on board of the ‘ Carteret ’ packet, commanded by Captain Taylor.

On the following morning, 15th November, 1797, after breakfast, the passengers going with us to New York, hastened on board, and by twelve o’clock the ‘ Carteret ’ was running down the harbour almost before the wind. In passing McNab’s Island, which lay on our left, we saw on the shore the carcasses of several of the horses which were drowned on the upsetting of a fine vessel, I believe named the ‘ Stag,’ and which had sailed but a few days before, bound to the West Indies, carrying on her upper deck

as many horses as could be stowed there, and over which a temporary flooring had been formed for as much hay as reached half-mast high.

I had been attracted with many others to go on board of the 'Stag' on the morning of her departure, but was so struck with the impropriety of the arrangements above noticed, that I declared to the master I would not sail in that vessel on any account. I had not, however, left the wharf whence I was watching the progress of the 'Stag,' when I saw her catch a puff of wind on her starboard, or right side, and instantly fall over; but she did not sink. It was strange that, in less than two hours after I had expressed my fears of her safety, I was in the first boat that hastened to assist in rescuing the crew, and we took up the Captain from the vessel, where he was in the water, holding by a rope's end. The first expression he uttered, pointing to me, was: "Ah, if I had taken that boy's advice, I should not have got in such a mess!" It was very fortunate that this had happened at so early a period of her voyage, as had the 'Stag' upset in the open sea, all hands must have perished.

In proceeding a little further, we passed the rocks upon which the 'Tribune' frigate was lost, I believe on the 18th of November, three days after our departure from Halifax. Our passengers were: Mrs. Browne, on her way from England to join her husband, a merchant at New York; a young man also named Browne, with his tutor, a Mr. Richardson, a very gentlemanly fellow, and in every respect qualified for his important trust. These had sailed from England in the 'Carteret.' At Halifax a Mrs. Davies, a handsome young widow, and her sister, or niece, a Miss Herd, a very lady-like woman, both proceeding to join some relatives who kept the Belvidere, a place of amusement open to the public, on the outskirts of the city of New York.

The wind continued exceedingly fair, and although strong, yet going almost before it, we did not suffer any inconveniency from its strength; on the contrary, so delightfully did she skud along, that in crossing the entrance to the Bay of Fundy, we ran over a distance of forty-two miles in three hours, during which time the wind, through the speed of the vessel,

was almost imperceptible on deck, when the Captain ordered a lighted candle to be brought up and placed on the companion-cover, where it remained during a quarter of an hour without being extinguished, nor was the flame blown about so as to indicate a risk of being extinguished. All this time the vessel glided on so quietly, that we danced reels to the music of young Browne's fiddle every evening, and passed many very agreeable evenings.

One night, in running along the shore of Long Island, we heard several guns fired off in the direction of the island. We could even see the flashes that preceded the explosions, and these being at intervals of three to five minutes, we concluded that the guns had been fired by some vessel on shore, or otherwise in distress. Although the wind was strong, yet as it proceeded from the coast, any vessel that had struck might either be got off again, or the crew might be saved. After our arrival at New York, we learnt that the guns had been fired by the 'Hunter' sloop of war, which had run on shore, and that she had been got off without sustaining very severe damage.

In the short space of four days after leaving Halifax, we arrived off the lighthouse on Sandy Hook, at the entrance to the harbour of New York, and there we were compelled to remain during three days, a great portion of that time at anchor, firing guns and making signals for a pilot. None came out to guide our ship into port, nor was any kind of notice taken of our efforts to attract attention. On the third night, a severe gale came on, and forced us off to sea, and as it blew from the north-west, the wind being nearly off-shore we steered away to the southward, keeping as much in shore as might be safe under the circumstances. On arriving off the Capes of the Chesapeake, we experienced some very severe squalls and frequent snow, followed by a hard gale. At length, on the fourth day, we were suddenly, whilst at breakfast, called to the deck to see several waterspouts which were hovering about the ship in various directions and various forms; one in particular was bent in the middle, forming a complete elbow, the whole length revolving upon its angular axis, so that the elbow remained without any other motion:

others were springing from the surface of the sea, where the water appeared to be exceedingly agitated, and rising up quite erect, wide at top and bottom, but hour-glass formed—that is, thinner in the middle, and some of them extended from clouds to sea, in one oblique line, but all were continually changing these figures to assume new ones.

In another place, I observed the water spinning round and round as we sometimes see for a moment the dust on the road, near some high corner of wall, rising into the air, and as quickly dispersing, and from the centre of this whirl there arose a large mass of water like a flat pyramid, with the apex sharp, and as it rose up became dispersed. This frequently broke up, or, as it is said, came to nothing, but, as sure as a gun, recommenced close by, and ultimately, after frequent failures, succeeded in raising a solid column to an immense elevation, where it necessarily dispersed, forming a black circular cloud, with thin and spreading edges.

These water-spouts amounted at one time to seven in number, and ran about sometimes with and sometimes against the wind, retreating and



advancing. I did not notice any two of them to run into one another, although at times they seemed to pass within fifty yards. In this very alarming company, some a mile or more distant, others much nearer, we had much reason to fear that we might, notwithstanding every effort to sail out of the way, come in fatal collision with one which seemed to be coquetting around us, frequently assuming the most alarming evolutions, and rushing about in many directions with incredible velocity. Our Captain declared he had never been so beset by these sea monsters, and soon resolved on trying the result of a cannon-shot. Consequently, one of our guns was loaded and double-shotted, which turned out as we thought, a most fortunate measure, for we had no sooner assumed the offensive, than our foe ran at us with extraordinary ferocity, and in a most unusually direct line coming towards our lee beam, on which side the gun had been prepared for action, which enabled us to fire without materially altering the course of the ship. The gunner had been well drilled on board of a ship of war, and was reputed a capital marksman. The gun was fired, both

shot I have no doubt passing through the column, for in an instant the mass fell and dispersed so rapidly, that even the whirling of the water out of which it ascended, and by which it was fed, was, in the short space of fifteen seconds, no longer perceptible.

Three cheers, the most hearty and spontaneous I have ever heard, burst from all on board, the ladies even joining the demonstration ; then a purse containing about ten guineas was collected, and with a short but suitable compliment, in reference to the important service, was presented by the eldest of the ladies to the gunner.

Very shortly after this, the other water-spouts, after capering about in a very amusing way, to those who might fancy themselves out of their range, retired to a greater distance from us ; and in less than an hour or two we could see nothing of any of them. As it usually happens after these water-spouts, the wind veered about and came from the southward and westward ; we gladly availed ourselves of that change to return to Sandy Hook, where we fired two or three guns for a pilot as before ; but as

no more notice was taken of this appeal than on the former visit, we now fired a shot at the lighthouse, which had the desired effect, for in less than three hours we had received a pilot on board, and were sailing away across the Bay of New York towards the city.

The country, which I have no doubt during summer is very beautiful, was now dreary, and covered with snow; and we suffered from cold, more and more as we advanced upon shallower water. I was seriously and rather unexpectedly alarmed at the accounts given by the pilot of the yellow-fever, which he stated was committing dreadful ravages in the city. He assured us that out of a population amounting to fifty-two thousand persons, prior to the appearance of the yellow-fever, fourteen thousand persons had been swept away, during the latter ten or twelve weeks; and of that number one hundred and five were medical men.

Whilst at Halifax, I had heard that New York was suffering from this malady, but I had not the slightest idea that the mortality had been so extensive. This intelligence instantly removed the ardent desire I had during a long

time entertained, to visit this celebrated city. My mind was at once made up to quit New York as early on the following morning as I should be able, after complying with Prince Edward's commands by personally delivering the letters which his Royal Highness had so kindly entrusted to my care.

Two hours after dark we anchored; and at about eight o'clock the same evening we landed at a wharf in Water Street.

## CHAPTER IX.

Arrival at New York—Tontine Coffee House—Washington—The Theatre—Generosity of Prince Edward—The yellow-fever in the West Indies—Cobbett and porcupine's quills—Proceed to Albany by water—Mrs. Livingston—Catskill—Mr. Brockway—General Cuyler—Grave of General Frazer—Crack in the ice—Choke a horse—La Prairie—Frozen Madeira—Cross to Montreal in a wooden canoe amidst floating ice—The *refoulment* of the St. Lawrence—Sullivan's Hotel—Conviviality at Montreal—Arrival at Quebec.

THE silence which everywhere prevailed, the total absence of every city-like sound, the deserted appearance of every house, where not even a rushlight was seen to glimmer, rendered my *entrée* into the great city of New York strongly resembling a midnight visit to the catacombs or pyramids of Egypt; but on advancing from the wharf into the streets, where the pavement was covered knee-deep by grass

and weeds, I felt a sensation of awe which I cannot describe. "The sweeping ravages of the plague could not have rendered this place more desolate," thought I, as I advanced cautiously, lifting up my feet half a yard high, at every step expecting to tread on some poor wretch, who, after watching and administering to the last wants of the last relative, might have died there without a friend to close his eyes. In this way we proceeded slowly, carefully following two or three of the few porters who had offered to guide us to an hotel, and carry our luggage on a truck, when at length I joyfully perceived, still at some distance, a few thinly scattered lights, indicating that we were emerging from amongst the dead. At a short distance further on, I believe at the corner of Wall Street, we entered the Tontine Coffee House.

The coffee-room was full of company, every one with a cigar in his mouth, and a glass of liquor before him. Amongst the party I observed a handsome young Irishman, with a round merry face and fair hair. He talked more and louder than any one; he drank more

whisky, smoked more cigars, and sang more songs—there could be no question that he was extremely popular. His name was O'Reily, and being dressed in the extreme of the fashion, he was dubbed and invariably addressed as Count O'Reily.

I went to bed at an early hour, in order that I might carry into execution my determination of leaving New York before the close of the next day. By ten o'clock the following morning, I entered the counting-house of Mr. Beech with the letter from Prince Edward. That gentleman received me like a wealthy man of business, standing covered, and without making any inquiry. I stated that I had another letter for a gentleman of the name of Badcock, upon which Mr. Beech pointing to a person present, said, "that is Mr. Badcock, Sir," to whom I presented his Royal Highness's letter. These gentlemen now opened the letters I had delivered, and having read them almost at the same moment, took off their hats, and Mr. Beech offering his hand, said, "The Prince has imposed on me a most agreeable task, by commanding me to do everything in my power to render the short

time you are likely to remain here, as comfortable as it may be in my power. He then inquired the name of my hotel, and adding, "you must allow me to send there immediately for your luggage, for I must insist that you take up your quarters at my house."

"No, I cannot allow that," sharply observed Mr. Badcock, "that is my duty; the Prince has particularly directed that I am to have that pleasure."

A sort of contest now ensued between these gentlemen, each insisting on my accepting his hospitality. I declined both, declaring that I should remain at the Tontine Coffee House; but that I should dine first with one, then with the other, notwithstanding my very firm resolution to quit New York forthwith.

After this, I lost no time in delivering the letter and present of harp-strings to Madame de Buc in Greenwich Street. Here again I experienced every civility, and was obliged to accept of a dinner for the third day, and on my return to the Tontine, I found Mr. Browne, the husband of Mrs. Browne, our fellow-passenger, who was waiting to see me, as also the two



other gentlemen who had arrived with me from Halifax, and I was compelled to accept of an invitation to dine at his house, and the Battery on the fourth day. At every moment, the dread of the yellow-fever went on diminishing, so that by the next day, I had totally forgotten that any such calamity was present.

Our parties at Beech's and Badcock's were thinly attended, because so many persons had fled to their country-houses on Long Island. The intensity of the cold, which this winter, caused the Bay of New York to be frozen entirely across, soon arrested the further progress of the yellow-fever. Day after day, my departure was postponed; and an invitation to dine with a gentleman, living at the same boarding-house with General Washington, then at New York, induced me to postpone it still further.

My recollection of that great man, is that he was very tall, perhaps six feet two inches to six feet four inches, very reserved and polite, clear and quick-sighted; had an aquiline nose and high forehead falling back. On being introduced to him as a British officer, he inquired if it were usual for gentlemen to enter

the army as young as I appeared to be; he particularly asking if I were a German, the name belonging, he thought, to that country. On my replying, he asked if I were related to the professor of fortification at Woolwich, he claimed me as an acquaintance, when he heard that I was his son. "Not personally, Sir," he added, "but I have read some of your father's valuable works, which I admire, and have introduced them into the course of education at our military college."

No further conversation occurred worthy of being recorded. As soon as the cloth was removed, he rose, bowed and left the room.

During my short sojourn at New York, I went several times to the theatre, and was much pleased with the wonderful performances of the Voltigeur, Mr. Ricketts, whom I saw fly over the heads of twenty soldiers with their bayonets fixed. The soldiers were drawn up in line two deep; were made to face to the right, and then closed up as much as possible, touching face to back; their muskets were also made to lean outwards, that is one half to the right and the other to the left, so that Ricketts passed between

the muskets of the soldiers, not over the points, still it was a wonderful leap. This feat was exhibited in the pit, where there were no seats, although formed in very wide steps; but there, smoking to any amount was allowed.

On taking leave of my kind friends, Beech and Badcock, they inquired as to the state of my finances, adding that they had been commanded by his Royal Highness, to supply me with any funds I might require, without limiting the amount, to be charged to his personal account. I was, as may be supposed greatly surprised, nevertheless I declined to avail myself of the Prince's generosity.

On my return to the Tontine, I wrote to his Royal Highness my warmest gratitude for his having placed so much confidence in my prudence, and did not omit to relate the particulars of the kind offers made me by Mr. Beech, and also by Mr. Badcock. I never received any communication from his Royal Highness in reply to that letter; but many years afterwards, about 1813, having had occasion to ask a favour of his Royal Highness, I received a reply occupying three pages of letter paper, wherein

his Royal Highness kindly granted my request, and took that opportunity of expressing that it was with pleasure he recognized in me the same officer who had been presented to him, on the grand parade at Halifax, by Major Stratton, on the 2nd of October, 1797.

Having agreed for my passage on board a sloop to carry me to Albany, by the North or Hudson River, and which was to sail on the following morning with the commencement of the flood-tide, I resolved on dining at the *table d'hôte* of the Tontine, for the first and last time. On entering the dining-room, I was agreeably surprised at meeting there an English officer in uniform, whom I soon ascertained had that day arrived from the West Indies for the benefit of his health; and from the emaciated state of his person, it was very evident that had he sunk any lower, it must have been into the grave. He appeared in very good spirits, and on my mentioning the yellow-fever, related the following anecdote.

“ On my arrival from England in the West Indies, I met an old friend and a brother officer, to whom I communicated my great anxiety

about the yellow-fever, adding I was so determined to escape death, if possible, that I was quite willing to adopt any manner of living or of conduct which his experience could recommend. My friend shrugged up his shoulders, and seemed for a few moments much perplexed: at length said, ‘Twelve months ago, thirteen of us landed together, and we had frequently, on the passage out, discussed what to each of us appeared the best course to preserve our lives. Some were favourable to a careful system of diet, others rejected every kind of self-denial; some had no fixed opinion on the subject, and a few abandoned themselves to despair. In this way we became completely divided, so that seven out of the thirteen determined on living every day of their lives without any restraint, and drank to excess; the remaining six thought, that by drinking water only, going to bed early, avoiding the night dews and chills, they should have a very good chance of some day or other returning to old England. What do you suppose was the result? why the whole of the sober boys died to a man, and I am the only one of the drunken dogs left alive.’”

Another story he told me of his having been at a party, where a dozen of the best fellows in the world sat down to dinner, but that before the following night ten of them were underground, while the eleventh could not be buried through the want of a coffin. I am not disposed to vouch for the accuracy of these narratives, yet from various quarters I have received corroborating testimony. On this subject, I remember that Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas, who commanded the 41st regiment at Montreal, in 1800, one day when I was dining with him, related that during the time he had commanded the 54th regiment in the West Indies, in a very short space of time he had lost by yellow-fever an entire complement of officers, non-commissioned officers and privates, three times over, he being the only individual remaining alive who had been landed in those islands with the regiment.

I rambled about the city, in order that I might not neglect seeing every part of it; and in passing through Pearl Street, a stationer's shop then occupied by the afterwards celebrated Cobbett, was pointed out to me.

Cobbett was then the editor of a newspaper, denominated the "Country Porcupine;" and in mentioning himself, he assumed the name of Peter Porcupine. The person in whose company I happened to be, related that, a few days only before that time a dandy walked into his shop, and asked to be served with a quarter of a hundred of quills. On receiving them, he exclaimed: "Oh, Mr. Cobbett, I think you have made a mistake."

"How so?" replied Cobbett, sternly.

"These are porcupine's quills, are they not?" tittering.

Cobbett looking grave and contemptuous, coldly observed, "No, Sir—they were—but are now goose quills."

At the appointed time I embarked in the Albany sloop, and made very rapid progress up the North River, we soon passed the celebrated West Point, or Highlands, but the darkness of the night deprived me of the satisfaction I had anticipated, from a sail through such romantic scenery.

The cold was now very severe, so that by next morning we found our way much obstructed by the ice, and shortly afterwards the vessel was frozen-up hard and fast. I

went on shore at Red-Hook, and proceeded next day to Livingston's wharf, and there experienced the kindest attention from Mrs. Livingston. On the following morning I continued my way in a waggon to Catskill, a distance of about twelve miles. Catskill was at that time a small village, beautifully situated amongst hills on the western side of the North River. After a delay at Catskill of about a week or ten days, our little vessel, the Albany sloop, had been brought up to that place by sawing out a canal in the ice; and having obtained my baggage, I agreed to take a sleigh with a Mr. Brockway, a solicitor, residing at Catskill, with whom I had boarded during my stay at a wretched public-house, the only one of any kind there. He was not sorry at meeting one, who would share with him the expense of a journey to Albany, thirty-eight miles distant.

On my departure, my landlord demanded one Spanish dollar, merely for my bed, each night, which Brockway declared was twelve dollars too much, and as by this time my baggage had been placed in the sleigh, and had proceeded to the solicitor's door, I gave the landlord five dollars for my fourteen night's



lodging, and pushed away, when he followed and threw the money into the sleigh, saying, he should very soon overtake us.

We started off and, having excellent horses, we had performed nearly half of our journey, before my friend the landlord came up on a galloping horse attended by a constable, who immediately arrested me. Brockway now took up my cause, and although I know not how many flaws or errors he discovered in the proceedings, but amongst a great many others he stated, the writ or warrant had been served by a constable out of the limits of his jurisdiction. Brockway advised me to pay the whole demand, together with cost of writ, and fifteen pence per mile for expense of following me; but not until I had been detained a sufficient length of time to serve some legal purpose; after this we proceeded without further delay and arrived at Albany in good time for a late dinner. Before leaving Albany, I gave Brockway a power of attorney to institute and follow up such proceedings against the landlord, as he should think fit, and I agreed to leave the solicitor the full and entire benefit of any

finer or monies which might be awarded by a jury or otherwise. About two or three months afterwards, I received a letter from Brockway, announcing that he had obtained a verdict, depriving the landlord of his license, and inflicting a penalty on him of one hundred pounds, New York currency.

On the day following that on which I had arrived at Albany, I hastened to call on a General Cuyler, residing a mile or two below the city and on the other side of the Hudson, and I delivered to that officer a letter of introduction, which I had received at Woolwich from Colonel Johnstone of the Royal Artillery. General Cuyler was a retired British officer, and, I believe, had a son in the Guards. He received me with great kindness, and insisted on my passing the day with him. His daughters were very amiable girls, and one of his sons had the goodness to accompany me on my return to Albany, where, on the next morning he arranged with an old discharged British soldier to carry me to Montreal, in a sleigh and pair of horses, in five or six days, for the sum of fifty dollars, and that he should defray his own and his horses' expenses. Under

these circumstances I left Albany, in high spirit, well pleased with the arrangement made for me, and very particularly at the prospect of my arriving, so speedily at the end of my long journey.

I must here remark at the time I performed that journey, there were no public conveyances on that tract and very few in any part of the United States. I shall not enter into the details of this trip ; let it, therefore suffice that I mention on my passing the ground upon which the battle of Brandywine was fought near Saratoga, my driver pointed to a rising ground on our left hand, and called my attention to a post and two rails hanging from it to the ground, which he said, as he groaned out a sigh, "There—those are the scanty remains of the railing which once enclosed the ground in which the body of General Fraser was interred after the battle, in a year or two more there will be nothing left to mark the spot."

On receiving this information, I ordered the driver to put up at a public-house at hand, kept by W. Carpenter, and soon agreed with a man to renew the fencing in of the grave for a few pounds, and by the middle

of the following day I had the satisfaction of seeing the work completed. My old driver had followed me to see the new erection, and on coming up to the spot he fell on his knees, crying with joy, after which he gave me a full account of the funeral at which he had been present; and also of the inhuman conduct of the Americans, who fired upon the concourse of officers and privates, together with the clergyman, standing round the grave during the reading of the funeral service.

Having completed this interesting affair, we proceeded by Skeensburgh, Burlington, and across Lake Champlain to Hillsborough, and we soon entered Canada, passing the Isle aux Noix, and arrived at St. John's, where I slept one night, in order to pay my respects to the commandant, and quickly proceeded to La Prairie, a small town or village on the St. Lawrence, opposite to Montreal. I must, however, mention that in crossing Lake Champlain on the ice, here about four miles wide, I was suddenly startled by a swelling thunder-like noise, which sounded to me as passing with great rapidity from one end of the lake to the other. The horses did not appear to notice the

sound as might have been expected, but either stopped of their own accord or by the pulling up of the driver. I learned from him that the alarming sounds were produced by the cracking of the ice. I very soon noticed the horses of a sleigh that was before us take a leap at a wide crack in the ice. They failed, and were instantly plunging in the water.

We now urged on our good steeds, and on our arriving at the spot found that one of the horses had been cut away from the sleigh, and was extricated; but none of the three Americans belonging to that carriage could get at the other. The reins of one of our horses were quickly slipped round his neck, with a sliding knot, which choked him. No time was now lost in passing traces round his body, and presently he floated like a bladder, when, by means of our united strength, we succeeded in hauling him out of the water, upon the side of the crack from which they had attempted to leap. The ligature round his neck was unfastened, and by rubbing him over with straw till dry during some minutes, every one contributing his great-coat to preserve some warmth, the poor creature revived, and rose on his feet.

I had scrambled across somehow or other, when my man, alone in the sleigh, taking a short run with his horses, cleared the crack in good style. The half-choked, half-drowned horse was harnessed and put to, but at first only made to walk; yet in less than twenty minutes he was at our heels, in full vigour and spirits.

On the sixth day after my departure from Albany, we arrived at La Prairie, a small town, perhaps a village, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, nearly opposite to the city of Montreal; that is, they face each other in consequence of a double bend with a reach between the two places about nine miles in length. The cold had been very severe, and on the day of my arrival had been more intense than before, so that the St. Lawrence was covered with floating ice, leaving but few open spaces. In consequence of this I was under the necessity of passing the night at La Prairie, none of the ferrymen deeming it possible to cross without the fullest daylight.

On leaving New York, I had been advised to provide myself with a small stock of provisions to be reserved until absolutely required, and I still had left two bottles of Madeira wine.

“This is fortunate,” thought I, as I drew them from the basket with some cold meat, for the people here could only supply me with bread, butter, and eggs, the usual resource which in those days a Canadian public-house could be expected to possess, besides a bed without curtains.

I ascertained the temperature to be  $18^{\circ}$  below zero, of Fahrenheit’s thermometer. I was perfectly chilled, and thought a glass of Madeira would procure a more rapid circulation of the blood; whilst the cloth was spreading, I drew the cork of the first of the two bottles upon which my hand fell; but to my extreme disappointment no liquid would flow. I quickly held up the bottle to the candle, and perceived its contents were frozen, with the exception of a globule in the centre, the remainder being like snow. I now made a hole into that portion with a long pencil, and poured out the liquid, which I drank off, amounting to little more than half a wine-glass full—then deposited the bottle by the side of the hot stove, in order that it might thaw and supply me during the dinner. The second bottle was exactly in the same state, and I treated it as I had done the first, and placed it

beside the other. I then went out to make some inquiries about the ferry, and the prospects of our crossing on the morrow, and I extended my walk to the river, where I at once perceived the necessity of plenty of light in order to make the attempt with a tolerably good chance of accomplishing the passage ; but I almost immediately returned staggering, and my head swimming. I very soon came to the conclusion that I was drunk ; I lay down on the bed for an hour, and then felt perfectly recovered.

This event was by no means extraordinary, since in point of fact, I had drank the concentrated spirit of two bottles of Madeira, and that too upon an empty stomach, after suffering severely from cold. I was, however, not conscious of the cause of my having been so intoxicated until after eating some dinner, I applied to one of my bottles, when I discovered it merely contained water, and on inspecting the second it was exactly in the same state.

Having, on the following morning, dismissed my driver with his sleigh, I jumped into a wooden canoe at day-break and amidst the most alarming confusion of floating ice rushing along at a frightful speed we started ; my two



navigators crossing themselves, and reciting a *pater noster*. After numerous escapes from being crushed between large moving islands driving upon each other whilst we were betwixt them, and from which we could extricate ourselves in no other way than by landing upon one of them (if I may so describe the getting on one of the pieces of ice) and then dragging the canoe after us to the opposite side, where we launched it into the uncovered water, and paddling off to another island we traversed it in like manner.

We had nine miles to travel in this way, and frequently were under the necessity of working with all possible exertion against the current in order to avoid being carried beyond the city. Six hours of this tantalizing state brought us to our destination, amidst some hundreds of persons, who had gathered on the shore to watch our movements, and who now congratulated us on our safe arrival.

Pat Sullivan's hotel, near the market place, was the only one in town, and consequently desired my luggage to be carried there. The back of that house having galleries along each floor towards the river; in summer must

have been very pleasantly situated. My bedroom was on that side, and on the following morning, at an early hour, I was awoke by an exceedingly loud noise of a peculiar description, which induced me to hasten to the window whence I saw that the river was completely covered with ice, which I was informed had been frozen fast entirely across, but which now started off again, through the force of the current.

The city of Montreal is seated exactly in the bend of the river, so that the stream from La Prairie runs directly towards the city, where the banks are high and steep, and which turn off the current ; except during the *refoulements* as the Canadians describe it, or the jamming up of the ice, which always occurs twice or thrice each winter, before it is perfectly wedged up or fixed for the remainder of the season. The above-mentioned movement was the first, which had occurred after the ice had stopped, and during the time I remained at Sullivan's hotel, I witnessed the two others, which in the estimation of the inhabitants, founded on long experience, would be the last. The third happened, whilst I was in my room on the second floor,

twenty-five feet, at least, above the river bank, which was in like manner twenty to twenty-five above the water, so that my room windows must have been from forty-five to fifty feet above the surface of the river.

At each movement of the ice, in rushing down the river directly towards the house I was in, from La Prairie, the ice had gone on piling up particularly at the back of Sullivan's hotel; large masses of eighteen to twenty inches in thickness and some of it two feet, and which had advanced sliding up the bank one piece above the other, until, at the commencement of the third *refoulement*, it had accumulated to a height considerably higher than the top of the bank.

I remained gazing with intense curiosity from my window, almost bewildered at the slow, but steady and irresistible force by which the large masses of ice which on reaching the summit of the chaos, were as certainly pushed over towards the hotel by others, which in like manner were in their turn chased and driven forwards by those behind them. In an incredibly powerful manner and short space of time, the surface betwixt the hotel and the crest of the

river bank, about sixty to seventy feet in width, was almost totally filled by pieces of ice which in succession had been impelled up the bank, fifteen to twenty-five feet high and forming on the top a confused wall of broken ice twenty feet higher than my window on the second floor.

I noticed one immense sheet fifty to sixty feet in extent each way, rearing a terrific sharp pointed portion, which went on rising so high before it arrived at its point of equilibrium, that I darted from the room down stairs to the street, and felicitated myself on reaching the open air in time to escape from being crushed to death. I immediately afterwards beheld it from the bank of the river at a short distance above, balancing on the top of the ridge where it had remained, requiring only the slightest puff of wind to annihilate the hotel. The weight of this mass of ice must have amounted to a thousand tons at least.

A state of things so alarming could not be tolerated; Pat Sullivan, therefore, very prudently collected a large body of Canadians bearing poles, ropes, ladders, and all the implements necessary to turn the scale in favour of the

side towards the St. Lawrence. Had any individual possessed sufficient courage or perhaps recklessness to ascend, and place his shoulder under the majestic slab of ice, his individual strength would have been sufficient to have sent it back whence it came ; for on the first touch in adjusting the rope by which it was to have been hurled down, it went amongst its innumerable companions on the river.

My first care after arriving at Montreal, was to find out any officers of Engineers who might be quartered at that place, when I was informed that Captain Humfrey was the only one, I immediately introduced myself, and was agreeably surprised on finding there Lieutenant Lacy, of the Engineers, whom I had been appointed to relieve in Canada. He had just arrived from the island of St. Joseph, in Upper Canada, and was then on his way to Quebec, preparatory to his embarkation for England.

One morning, when the thermometer was at 38° below zero, having been invited to breakfast by Humfrey, on my arrival there, although not more than a third of a mile from Pat Sullivan's hotel, I found my left ear completely frozen. At first I had thought that Humfrey and Lacy,

who were the first to apprise me of it, were endeavouring to alarm me—a common joke practiced on Johnny Newcome; but on applying my hand I ascertained that my ear was frozen as hard as a piece of earthen-ware. By the application of a handful of snow, the usual remedy, and by keeping out of the house, in a few minutes the circulation was restored, but not without considerable pain. In the course of a few hours, the skin of that portion which had been frozen, blistered; and in every respect I experienced the same effect as might have been produced by a severe burn; but that part was ever afterwards much more liable to be frost-bitten than it would have been had it never been frozen.

I had not been twenty-four hours at Montreal before I was invited to dine for every day in succession, during a week or ten days. Amongst the names of the persons from whom I experienced much attention were Sir John Johnson, Superintendant-General of Indian affairs, General Christie, an old general officer, upwards of eighty years of age, proprietor of corn mills at Chamblie upon a large scale; and always, according to the fashion of those days, “had

just discovered two or three bottles of the old Madeira, therefore, pray come my dear Sir, and take your leave of that capital pipe, which has frequently procured me the pleasure of your agreeable company.”

There were also Sir Alexander Mackenzie and William McGillivray living together, and partners in the North-West Company; Mr. McTavish, and Mr. Frobisher, also of the North-West Company; Mr. Shaw, Mr. Roderick Mackenzie, Judge Ogden, Judge Walker and his brother Tom, Mr. Maitland, partner of Andjo, Isaac Todd, Doctor Gould, and many other merchants; of the army, were Colonels McIntosh and Hughes of the 2nd battalion of the 60th regiment, and Major O'Brien of the 24th regiment, who had married Miss Frobisher, an only child. From the greater part of these persons and from many more whose names I do not at present recollect, I experienced the greatest civilities.

After many days of feasting and hard drinking, I was engaged as also Humfrey and Lacy, to dine with Sir Alexander Mackenzie, and McGillivray. The party was composed of many

of the above named, and in all amounted to about twenty in number.

In those days we dined at four o'clock, and after taking a satisfactory quantity of wine, perhaps a bottle each, the married men, viz. Sir John Johnson, McTavish, Frobisher, O'Brien, Judge Ogden, Tom Walker, and some others retired, leaving about a dozen to drink to their health. We now began in right earnest and true highland style, and by four o'clock in the morning, the whole of us had arrived at such a degree of perfection, that we could all give the war-whoop as well as Mackenzie and McGillivray, we could all sing admirably, we could all drink like fishes, and we all thought we could dance on the table without disturbing a single decanter, glass or plate by which it was profusely covered; but on making the experiment we discovered that it was a complete delusion, and ultimately, we broke all the plates, glasses, bottles, &c., and the table also, and worse than all the heads and hands of the party received many severe contusions, cuts and scratches.

I have to this day a perfect recollection of



having walked home alone, a distance of more than a quarter of a mile, and that I answered all the challenges of the sentinels, in a soldier-like manner. On my arrival at my hotel, Pat Sullivan opened the door himself, but he very quickly perceived that I was by no means a safe personage to be intrusted with a lighted candle. Having accomplished the arduous task of ascending to my bed-room, I locked the door and without delay proceeded to get into bed. I deposited each article of my dress in a proper manner on a chair, with the same regularity as usual, but with this small difference, I was far more litigious, and folded and unfolded each article some ten or twelve times, before I felt satisfied that I had done it in the best manner. Nevertheless, in the morning I discovered that several of them had become dispersed about the floor in a most unintelligible manner. Having completed these important arrangements to my satisfaction, I jumped into bed, and went off to sleep, without forgetting to place my famous horse pistols which I had purchased at New York, by the side of my bed. How long I remained in that happy state, I do not find recorded in my journal, but I remember having

been disturbed during the night by some suspicious noise, that upon looking about me, I perceived a man working his way through an aperture about a yard square which had been made in a boarded partition, separating my room from one adjoining ; and which opening was commonly filled by a close cast-iron stove, so that two rooms should be warmed by one fire.

Immediately on my satisfying myself that a man was actually endeavouring to force an *entrée* into my apartment, I snatched up one of my trusty companions ; and before I could obtain any very clear answer to my brief interrogatory, I fired at his head ; upon which a loud screech, followed by a hollow groan was heard, and the man fell. A general confusion very soon afterwards spread itself throughout the house ; every individual it contained, came stumbling over each other, all directing their hurried steps to the point whence the report of a pistol had issued, and I was compelled to allow them a free admission into my room.

It was now ascertained that Pat had been most fortunately but slightly wounded, the ball having merely scratched the skin of his bald

head. After dressing his wound with a piece of court-plaister, Sullivan related that, having observed I could not have walked along two yards of a single board, he had remained on the alert to watch my movements, and that having perceived I had got into bed without extinguishing my candle, he had tried in vain to draw my attention to that important fact by battering on my room-door. At length it had occurred to him that he could make his way to my candle by squeezing his corpulent body through the hole in the partition already mentioned, without disturbing me; but unfortunately I had been sufficiently aroused by the battering, and the result I have described.

It had been settled at Sir Alexander MacKenzie's party, that on the following morning Lacy and myself should proceed to Quebec, distant about one hundred and eighty miles, in consequence of which, by nine o'clock he came to press me to rise and prepare for the journey. Lacy was quickly followed by Mackenzie, W. McGillivray and others who had been of the drunken party. By twelve o'clock we started, accompanied by Mackenzie and McGillivray, as far as Point-au-Tremble,

where they took leave and returned to town, whilst Lacy and myself continued our journey with post-horses and sleighs. We had both suffered so much through this heavy debauch, that it was not until late on the fourth day that we arrived at Quebec, (31st December, 1797).

I was afterwards informed that one hundred and twenty bottles of wine had been consumed at our convivial meeting, but I should think a great deal had been spilt and wasted.

## CHAPTER X.

New Year's Day at Quebec—Lieutenant-General Prescott—Mrs. Stuart and her children—An introduction at Court—Ball at the Château—The Minuet de la Cour—Beef-Steak Club at Quebec—Sleigh accidents—Severity of the cold.

AT Quebec we took up our night's lodging at an hotel kept by a man whose name was Pond, situated at the top of a flight of steps leading from near the château to the lower town. I thus commenced my career at Quebec on the 1st January, 1798—a great day in Lower Canada at that time—a day of extraordinary festivity, which was extended to the two or three following days. Amongst the Canadians it was, and perhaps may be still, the fashion for everybody to visit everybody during one of the three first days of the year,

when a glass of noyeau or other liquor was, with a piece of biscuit or cake, presented to the visitor, which, after a hard day's work in calling at some twenty or thirty houses, frequently terminated in sending a number of very respectable people home in a staggering condition towards the close of the day.

After paying my official visit to my commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Gotter Mann, who at the same time commanded the garrison of Quebec, and to whom Lacy introduced me, the Lieutenant-Colonel conducted me to the château, the residence of the governor, and presented me to his Excellency Captain-General Prescott. The General was a little man, not exceeding five feet four or five inches high, very slender and certainly not much under eighty years of age; he was nevertheless active, a good officer, but exceedingly peppery.

When we had secured a lodging for Lacy and myself in the house of one Mackenzie, a drunken old Scotchman in Palace Street, near the gate, we commenced our New Year's Day rounds, and amongst my numerous visits was one to the renowned Mrs. Stuart, one of the lions of Quebec. This lady was of large

proportions, about sixty years of age, dressed in the extreme of a fashion forty years gone by ; her hair frizzed up a yard high above her head, increasing in width as it rose in height, the whole well covered with maréchal and pink powder, with some decorations of lace and ribbons scattered about the top, and surmounted by a splendid plume of ostrich feathers. Her body was cased in a long and stiff pair of stays, displaying an elegantly-carved and ornamented busk, and leaving the neck and bosom almost completely uncovered : an immense pair of hoops spread out her dress to the extent of a yard at least on each side, so as to cover the entire length of the sofa, upon which she was seated quite erect.

Her sleeves just covered her elbows, and were profusely trimmed with rich lace ; from her ears depended a mass of gold and valuable stones ; round her neck were four or five necklaces of coral, of amber, of pearls, of beads of various colours and some gold chains ; but there was one in particular, larger than all the others, and hanging so low as to require being supported from falling on her lap by a large clasp or hook fastened to the centre of the

lap of her dress—this caused the said chain to hang in two festoons, upon each of which were fastened four family miniatures of the largest dimensions, and round each arm, which was left quite uncovered, there were three similar portraits, together with sundry other bracelets: her fingers were plentifully supplied with rings, and she had one on each thumb.

But the watch formed not only the most conspicuous, but also the most costly of all the ornaments, being set with diamonds and fastened to her side by a large flowered hook, from which some ten to twelve short chains were suspended, each finished with a small swivel holding a large seal or a key of the diameter of a half-crown, a scent-bottle, a gentleman's mourning-ring, or other trinkets of the like description. I cannot close this already too-lengthy detail of the dress of the very celebrated Mrs. Stuart, of royal ancestry, without adverting to the pink stockings, short dress, and white satin shoes, having heels two or three inches high, neatly covered with red morocco leather, and fastened by a handsome pair of buckles containing many brilliant stones.



After pronouncing all the usual compliments in reference to the commencement of the new year, and passing some very absurd flattery on her ornaments, but which my friend Lacy conducted with exquisite talent, and having sipped a glass of noyeau, we most respectfully inquired if we might be permitted to have the honour of paying our respects to the young ladies; when, after a short pause, Mrs. Stuart observed, “well, gentlemen, since you are so obliging as to wish to extend your visit to the children, I shall ascertain if they are prepared;” then, ringing the bell, she ordered the servant to see if the children were dressed, and if so, to desire they might be brought in. In a few minutes, the children were ushered into our presence, and proved to be three very fine young women, the youngest about twenty years of age: but we were merely permitted to bow and pass the usual compliments of the season, after which, Mrs. Stuart, in a very commanding tone, addressed them, “there—there—children, don’t make yourselves disagreeable—away with ye!” the poor girls instantly obeyed, and ran off to the nursery. One of these adult babies, some time afterwards, contrived to get married

to a Captain S— in the 24th regiment, then stationed at Quebec.

At four o'clock I was introduced to the officers of the artillery and engineer mess by my commandant, with whom I had the honour of dining on that day, and was, as a matter of form, proposed and admitted a member. Our mess-room was a very comfortable place; it was arched over about thirty feet in length, and although there was a crack in the arch extending from one abutment to the other, I believe it has not yet fallen. The members were, to the best of my recollection, Lieutenant-Colonel Mann, Chief Engineer; Major Schalch, Royal Artillery; Lieutenants Caddy, Kidgel, Rogers, Truscott, also of the Artillery, Captain Bryce, and Lieutenants Lacy and myself of the Royal Engineers; in addition to these there were, as honorary members, George Hariot, Esq., soon afterwards Postmaster-General in North America, Doctors Graham and Sone, and perhaps some others.

At an early hour we broke up from table, in order to prepare for the grand ball and supper at the Governor's residence, and as it was necessary that I should be presented in

due form, I was directed to be at the château by half-past seven o'clock punctually. Accordingly at the stated time, I was ushered into the presentation chamber, adjoining the ball-room, and there, amidst some fifteen or twenty ladies and gentlemen, all under the same circumstances, I waited, standing, the important moment; for, in order to prevent the possibility of any one being caught sitting in this imitation royal apartment, every chair and seat of every description had been carefully removed.

At length the General and his lady, Mrs. Prescott, attended by the aids-de-camp, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, Deputy-Quarter-Master-General, &c., and a number of other officers on the staff made their *entrée*. His Excellency, standing rather prominently, and the retinue, forming the usual crescent, slightly retired. Each individual, as governed by accident, was presented by the aide-de-camp in waiting; the gentlemen made well-studied court-bows, upon which his Excellency had always some obliging inquiry to make, which, however, did not exceed two or three questions. On being led up to the Captain-General, each

lady made a very low courtsey, her knees almost touching the carpet, and retained an erect posture ; immediately on rising his Excellency advanced and kissed her, and although eighty winters at least had passed their chills through his blood, it was remarked that he performed that agreeable part of his official duties with the warmth of his most youthful days. Each individual was in like manner and with equal pomp presented to Mrs. Prescott.

All the ladies and gentlemen thus newly admitted into the aristocratic sphere, moved on into the ball-room, as quickly as each presentation had been completed ; after which a flourish of trumpets was sounded in the orchestra, as two doors at the opposite extremity of the room opened, announcing that the King and Queen, represented by the Governor and his lady, were about to make their *entrée*. The King, preceded by the master of ceremonies, and followed by his numerous staff, entered by the door on the right, and the Queen, attended by her daughter, Mrs. Baldwin, who had been married to one of the General's aides-de-camp, and by four or five other ladies, in some way

either connected with the Governor's family, or with the principal officers of the Government, entered by the door on the left.

The trumpets having instantly ceased, the full band struck up "God save the King!" and continued playing that celebrated national anthem during the whole of the time that the King and Queen were walking round the room, addressing a few words to each person as they passed, who were all standing, and until they arrived at the upper end of the room, where the royal seats were placed under the orchestra. The music now stopped, upon which the master of ceremonies advanced to the royal personages, bowed to the ground, and was ordered to lead forth the couple destined to dance the *menuet de la cour*, a formality never omitted on these grand nights. The master of ceremonies bowed again, and accordingly proceeded, and immediately led out a Monsieur de Chambeau and Miss Robe, who advanced to the King and Queen, saluted, and proceeded with the minuet.

The former was a perfect Frenchman in manners; had a large head, with a brown face pitted with the small-pox, large eyes, and

elevated, arched eye-brows, and an astonishing mouth, containing an abundance of exceedingly long teeth, of various colours, his body was small and short, his legs thin, and feet and hands were of good dimensions. Miss Robe was tall and elegant, had been very handsome, and danced the minuet to perfection, and received loud and reiterated applause on being reconducted to her seat, and saluting after and before advancing to the royal representative.

Several iron stauncheons were at this moment brought in by the servants, and screwed into the floor in a line, through the top of which a rope covered with baize was passed ; by this arrangement the room was divided longitudinally into two equal parts. The long country dance was forthwith commenced, one in each division, and was kept up with great spirit until past twelve, when all the company descended to the supper, which was prepared with great elegance, totally regardless of expense. In the course of the evening, Mrs. Prescott kindly introduced me to her son, Sash Prescott, about fourteen years of age, aide-de-camp to his father.

Captain Baldwin, another aide-de-camp, had married Miss Prescott, and the third aide-de-

camp was François de Bouillie, son of the Marquis, and a lieutenant in the 64th regiment ; he had emigrated from France, and at the restoration of Louis XVIII., returned to his native country. The other officers of the staff were Lieutenant-Colonel W. Doyl, Deputy-Adjutant-General, who married a Miss Smith, and Lieutenant-Colonel Bumbury, Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Barnes, of the Royal Artillery, was Deputy-Quarter-Master-General and Deputy-Barrack-Master-General, to whom I had brought a letter of introduction.

One of the first objects of necessity on arriving in this country is to be provided with a good horse, and a fashionable high-runner sleigh. My inquiries in search of such an equipage were anticipated by an offer from de Bouillie, to sell me his set-out complete, horse, harness, and sleigh, for the moderate sum of one hundred dollars, or little more than twenty pounds. The horse was handsome, and named Cupid, but was rather aged, and had seen his best days, and the sleigh, which was painted pale blue, although very pretty, and exceedingly light, soon afterwards required

numerous repairs. All this was not surprising, having regard to the price I had paid.

The possession of this most indispensable accommodation enabled me to join the beef-steak club, consisting of some twelve to fifteen members, and we met in the country to dine at the distance of eight, or ten, or even fifteen miles from town. The chair was taken by rotation, when the president was expected to furnish the rump of beef, and one bottle of wine and another of porter, whilst the vice-president was required to supply two bottles of wine, and two of porter; all the other members brought with them one bottle of wine and one of porter, two plates and knives and forks; each member was permitted to bring a friend, for whom he was required to provide the bottle of porter and of wine.

In this way all went on very pleasantly, for no one felt any inconvenience in being the president, to supply the rump of beef, which rarely exceeded thirty pounds in weight, and cost as many pence; the price being one penny per pound for newly-killed meat, whereas that which had been killed in the commencement



of the winter and frozen, was only half that price.

Very soon after I had made the purchase of de Bouillie's horse and sleigh, and had been duly elected a member of the club, the place agreed upon for our next weekly meeting, was at the Red House, about six or eight miles above Quebec, on the road to the falls of the Chaudière, and to which we had to descend by a very steep road cut out of the face of a very precipitous bank of great elevation: this although rather narrow, had no fence nor other protection.

Major Schalch of the Royal Artillery and myself agreed that we should go together, he supplying the horse and I the sleigh. Accordingly on the Thursday following, we set out, the major driving. We found all matters to our satisfaction; and proceeded to descend from near the plains of Abraham towards the St. Lawrence, by the road above described; when suddenly I perceived that the shaft was unhooked on my side, in consequence of the backing of the horse to resist the too rapid progress of the sleigh. I instantly, in great alarm, for I was next to the precipice, commu-

nicated my discovery to Schalch, who could not see what had happened, but thinking it would be better to put on a little speed to relieve the horse from the sleigh which now begun to run upon his heels, agitated his whip, and upon which the horse started off, but in so doing the sleigh being drawn by one side of the shaft, unavoidably ran off the road over the precipice, exactly at a place where it was the steepest and most alarming.

In one instant the sleigh swung round entirely off the road, hanging almost perpendicularly from the horse whose hind legs had by the jirk been also dragged off the road, the horse making many efforts to sustain the weight of us two and of the sleigh, by the strength of his fore legs, I knew nothing of Schalch's speculations on the result, but I well knew that I thought my life was not worth ten minute's purchase, yet in order to relieve the horse from my weight and to snap at a chance, I disentangled my feet from the apron, which was as usual in Canada during the winter, very tightly and closely buttoned up—when away I went, plump down over the back of the sleigh, head foremost down the

precipice twenty-five feet, at least, without touching anything, and fell on my side into immensely deep snow, fortunately missing the trees growing lower down, where the bank was not quite upright; with the utmost despatch I scrambled, rolling further down, but got my head out of the snow just in time to see Schalch come down as I had, and he fell past me, still the horse was holding on and such were the exertions the poor creature made that, had any two men been at hand, I believe he might have been replaced on the road; but at length quite exhausted, he also together with the sleigh came down turning head over heels. We had fortunately profited by the delay of a few seconds that had occurred before the falling of the horse to get behind a large tree.

The horse lay nearly covered over in the snow ten to fifteen feet deep, without the least struggling, and I thought him killed; but after a while, and with much difficulty we worked our way round to a less perpendicular spot; and having succeeded in procuring the assistance of five or six men, we ultimately accomplished the heavy task of removing the

horse and carriage to the bottom of the bank and thence to the road; and to our unspeakable surprise and delight, neither the horse nor the sleigh having sustained any serious injury.

Although I had desired the shafts of my sleigh to be better secured, but a few days after I had another narrow escape whilst taking a drive about the town; I met Lieutenant T. Paterson of the Royal Artillery, and invited him to jump into my sleigh. Having some motive for wishing to go into the lower-town, he requested I would drive him thither, and accordingly I proceeded to the gate at the top of the steep hill leading to the lower-town. The road during winter was rendered very inconvenient by the necessity of cutting away the snow and ice in order to close the gates at night, a ceremony never omitted whilst I was at Quebec.

Here in making the plunge into the gateway, the shaft again became unhooked, and was not perceived until Monsieur Le Houillier, the perfumer, who was standing at his shop door, gave me the first notice of it. It was, however, too late, for my friend Cupid had taken the alarm, and was off at a hand canter down the steep

hill. Before reaching the sharp bend to the left in the middle of the hill, Paterson threw himself out, but I remained in the sleigh in the hope of being able to stop the horse. I was mistaken, for he turned the corner with such speed that the sleigh was upset—pitching me out with such force, that my head, fortunately, well covered with my military fur cap, was dashed through the window of Monsieur Michel Forton, a very little man, and the only working silversmith in all Quebec. On this occasion the repairs of my sleigh amounted to several pounds.

On viewing the St. Lawrence from this place (Quebec) I felt greatly surprised on being informed that it frequently was frozen across to Point Levy and even down to the island of Orleans. The narrowest part of the St. Lawrence along many miles of its course is at Quebec, and measures thirteen hundred yards ; I learnt at the same time that very severe cold alone was not sufficient to form what is locally called a *pont*. In addition to a very low temperature, at the moment of the turning of the tide at high water, there must also be no

wind, whilst a slight fall of snow should accompany the above conditions.

Whilst all the *beau monde* are anticipating the pleasure of driving on a beautifully clear sheet of ice, and the inhabitants generally and the market-people residing on the opposite shore, hail the *pont* with much satisfaction, and even enthusiastic joy, yet as that event necessarily throws out of employment a considerable body of boatmen, and particularly all those persons connected with the management of the ferry, it is not unreasonable to expect that those people should put in requisition every effort in their power, which may hold out a chance of preventing the freezing of the St. Lawrence at this place. With this object in view, as often as there are any symptoms unfavourable to their interests, they vigilantly watch the river, constantly having at their command a large force; every man armed with a long pole standing at intervals of a few feet apart, along that portion of the shore which projects the most, and which is the most likely to impede the ice from following the current of the tide when turning at the commencement of

ebb ; and this place is exclusively along the lower town.

Should a thin sheet of newly formed ice at high water stop at the first of the ebbing of the tide, the whole of the gentlemen with the long poles commence smashing the edges, in order that nothing shall detain it from being floated away by the receding stream, which here runs at the rate of four or five miles per hour ; and in this way they have occasionally been successful.

During the night of the 18th of January 1798, soon after my arrival at Quebec, the *pont* was formed, and at an early hour on the following morning, the news of the joyful event was spread throughout the city and circumjacent country ; upon which, swarms of sleighs for pleasure and business descended to the river on both sides, and, without inquiring into the strength of the ice, darted off on the newly-formed *pont*, in the fullest confidence that it was abundantly strong, although but six hours old.

It was very interesting to observe the boldness of the horses, in stepping from the shore on to a sheet of ice as bright as a looking-glass, without shyness or perceptible alarm.

Persons residing in Europe are usually impressed with a belief, that skating is a very ordinary amusement here, yet, as the first fall of snow, after a fine sheet is formed, covers it up for the winter, it is at best but of very short duration ; and even then the severity of the temperature renders the ice so hard that the edges of the skates make but little impression on it.

The ice in a few days after it is formed, usually acquires a thickness of two feet to two feet and a half, and that which is carried away to the ice-houses is always in the largest manageable masses, and as transparent as crystal.

In summer, this clear ice is an important article of luxury, for although short, the heat is at times, very severe. The usual subscription to our military ice-house was one dollar, to defray the expense of filling the place, and for which we had, a block of ice, every morning, as large as a persons' head, and after dinner at the mess, we had, in addition to the quantity necessary for cooling the wine, water, and butter, plates full of broken lumps of ice, the size of white sugar prepared for tea,



and which we used to throw into each glass of wine.

I believe that on the night above mentioned, when the river was frozen over to Point Levy, the temperature was lower than it had been known by the oldest inhabitants, or recorded on the numerous registers kept in Quebec ; for on the following morning I met Doctor North, the chief medical officer in Canada, and he told me, that on returning home from the grand ball given by the Governor in honour of the Queen's birthday, he had immediately consulted his thermometer when it indicated a temperature of  $43^{\circ}$  below zero. Now, as that is about the temperature at which mercury is said to freeze, the Doctor without hesitation, broke his thermometer in order to ascertain if the mercury were frozen, when he found that the ball of quicksilver retained the spherical shape and rolled about, resembling a newly cast pistol-bullet. I was afterwards informed, that a spirit thermometer had, on that occasion, indicated a temperature of  $47^{\circ}$  below zero.

During the continuance of such intensely cold weather, officers and non-commissioned officers commanding guards had a discretionary

power to relieve their sentinels as often as they might think it expedient, and although in some extreme cases they have been relieved every quarter of an hour, yet some instances are on record of sentinels being found standing up in their boxes frozen to death. Amongst the peasantry and market-people, I have myself seen two cases of that nature in full daylight. One in particular, a Canadian, was sitting alone in his sleigh, on the road to St. Foix, with the reins in his hand and the horse advancing at a walking pace against a most cutting north-wester ; and, excepting that his face had assumed the colour of hogs' lard or white wax, there was no indication of death or of his having suffered any pain, his eyes being closed as one sleeping, and he had probably been drinking a glass or two of strong liquor and fallen asleep—the frequent cause of death by frost.

Having often heard it asserted by persons who had experienced very severe temperatures at Petersburg, that a glass of water thrown out of an upper window would fall in the shape of ice or snow, I here availed myself of an extremely cold temperature ; when the ther-

mometer showed the quicksilver down to  $25^{\circ}$  below zero. I went up to the first floor, carrying with me a pint pot full of water nearly boiling, when, dashing its contents upwards into the air, so as to divide the particles, the whole of the water thus dispersed, was instantly frozen and carried away by the breeze in the form of snow. I soon had occasion to notice that an agitated atmosphere and a low temperature were incompatible with each other, so that severely cold weather is invariably attended by a calm; were this not the case, the effect of a sharp north-wester, when the thermometer should indicate any temperature below zero, would be quite insupportable by the human system.

During very severe cold weather, in inhaling the breath the moisture of the air in the mouth and throat becomes frozen, producing a very remarkable sensation, which in some degree is felt like the first effects of breathing carbonic acid gas. By opening a window suddenly of a well-heated room, the whole of the moisture contained in the atmosphere of the room is instantly converted into sleet, and falls in the course of a minute. Hence it must be evident

that the winter atmosphere in Canada is perfectly dry, and may account for the extraordinary salubrity of that climate. One of the strongest proofs of the severity of the cold is, that at an early period of the winter, every bird seeks for a warmer climate, more to the southward, even the crows and the like species of birds withdraw themselves from Lower Canada, and when, towards the beginning or middle of April, some of them are seen hopping about on the ice, searching along the roads for food, it is regarded as a sure indication that the winter is breaking up, and no return of extreme cold need be apprehended.

## CHAPTER XI.

Inconveniences of the severe cold in Canada—New-come soldiers' tricks—The Canadian market-people—The sleighs—Dearness of furs in Canada—Ice-huts of fishermen—Optical deceptions on the ice—Sleighs for field-guns—Tommy Cod—Colonel T. D.—His miraculous stories—New Year's Day, and balls at the château—Le Maître—Lord and Lady Dorchester—The last Jesuit—Military honours paid to the host.

ON the arrival in Canada of Englishmen, they are exposed to numerous annoyances, caused by the intensity of the temperature. One of the first is, touching a knocker on a door or a thumb latch without gloves, when the imperceptible moisture on the skin instantly freezes the fingers to the metal, to which the skin must be left attached ; but they soon acquire the habit of never handling any metallic substance that has been a short time exposed to a low

temperature without gloves or mittens, and in the absence of that protection a handkerchief or skirt of the coat is a good substitute. Recently arrived recruits are considered by those who have been played upon, on their coming into that country, as fair subjects on whom to practice a variety of tricks, many of them of a cruel nature. One, which I recollect to have witnessed in the Jesuits' barracks, as they are styled, then occupied by the 24th regiment, and happened whilst I was in conversation with Lieutenant Forster, of the Grenadiers, that an old soldier, addressing a new comer, said: "I say, Tom, take this here hammer, and drive that ere nail in the wall out there to hang up this bedding," pointing to a large spike nail on the snow just under the spot where the nail was to be driven. Tom did as he had been desired, but he could not withdraw his hand from the nail, which had been expressly exposed to the severe cold. He hallooed and uttered various cries of distress, but no one came to his assistance, and he was ultimately compelled to leave the skin of his fingers on the spike, just as would have been the case had it been red-hot. The Canadian market

people soon discover the new comers from others, and sell them frozen milk, which they pass off as hog's lard, and to which it bears, in a frozen state, a strong resemblance.

Our first winter at Quebec discloses to us many novel and very interesting matters peculiar to a severe climate. Thus I was much pleased with the elegance of the high runner sleighs, only used by the upper classes of the Europeans. These vehicles resemble the body of a gig raised on four branches, or standards, of iron eight or ten inches long, resting on two skates. These were always drawn by one horse, excepting here and there when a tandem was started, and many of these carriages are made very elegantly. The horses are small, under fifteen hands, active, and frequently very good trotters, yet a pacer is much esteemed, each having two or three small, clear-sounding bells suspended from a hoop of iron rising from the collar. These bells are required by law, to prevent persons from being run over in the streets; for the sleighs make so little noise in passing recently fallen snow, that it would be difficult for pedestrians to get out of their way without that notice; and in the country

during dark nights in woods the jingling is equally useful as a warning.

The extensive use here of furs by gentlemen as well as ladies attracted my notice on my arrival. I called on Mr. Wolfe the furrier in the market-place at Quebec, and provided myself with a large black bear-skin muff, which I used only after dark or when travelling—of course not when I was driving. A muff, under such circumstances, is a most excellent and very important addition to our comfort, particularly in travelling against the wind, sheltering our faces from the severity of the cold, in short, is equivalent to an additional great-coat. I also purchased of Mr. Wolfe a pair of mittens, which thoroughly keep the hands warm, and are made of double cariboo-skin, with flannel between the two, and the wrists are trimmed with beaver, otter, or other compact fur. I also purchased of the same furrier a military fur cap of martin-skins, for which I paid four guineas, and very soon discovered that every description of fur was more expensive at Quebec than in England. Of this I will give a convincing proof.

From the time of my being appointed to



serve in Canada, I had resolved on sending home to my dear mother a handsome martin muff and tippet, for which I paid sixteen guineas. In a few months afterwards, my friend Lieutenant Lacy sailed with them for England, where on their arrival they were valued at less than half the cost price.

The costume of the Canadian farmers and market people was in winter, and may still be the same, frequently consisting of a white deer skin leather coat, fancifully painted by the Indians, fastened round the waist by a party coloured worsted sash, a red worsted cap, or sometimes one of fisher or raccoon skin covers the head, whilst on the feet they have shoes of brick-red colour of home tanned very thick leather; these shoes are as soft on the soles as on the top; are made like those of the Indians, and if they are well greased they keep out the wet and cold very satisfactorily.

In arriving from a distance of a few miles in the country, the frozen breath and moisture from the horses' noses form thick icicles that hang almost to the ground, giving them somewhat the air of young elephants. I was also

much struck at the appearance of the soldiers, who here assume a novel aspect, all were provided with military fur caps and great coats, made of blankets.

In descending to the river Charles, which at Quebec unites with the St. Lawrence, our curiosity is aroused at perceiving the river thickly covered with small huts, eight to ten feet square, built entirely of large slabs of ice sawn out of the frozen river, and set up edgewise, and covered in like manner: they are cemented by throwing water over the joints which instantly freezes. These huts I found to be occupied by persons fishing with a line through a hole in the ice to which the fish were attracted in order to procure air, and I was greatly surprised on discovering that each of these huts contained a stove with a fire, rendering the temperature of the interior considerably higher than I had expected, yet not sufficiently warm to melt away the floor or walls.

All the roads were then marked during the winter, both on land and on the ice, with young pine trees, about ten to fifteen feet high; the lower branches being stripped gave them the

appearance of small trees planted in the earth. On the ice this arrangement enlivens the roads, they are denominated by the Canadians balises ; and as the trees are planted at short intervals, not exceeding forty or fifty feet, they are of the utmost importance to travellers, by preventing them from losing the road, when every trace of it is frequently, during a snow storm, completely effaced in twenty minutes.

It was during a calm morning after a considerable fall of snow, which had completely covered every trace of a road on the ice, extending from Quebec to the island of Orleans, that I took a walk, and without any premeditated object I set forward and found myself rambling about on the ice, thus newly covered with snow, before the balises had been planted. I had been more than an hour walking forwards, when a fog began to form sufficient to conceal from my view every portion of land. I felt no uneasiness at this event, for I could still readily distinguish objects at a considerable distance as I supposed in every direction. Let it be clearly understood that the whole of the surface I was on, as far as I could see, was free from irregularities, free

from masses of ice, free from any perceptible object, in short it was one uniform surface, blending with the horizon, whilst the sky overhead was perfectly clear. During some time I proceeded without taking much notice of the singular effect produced by the state of the snow.

At length, on looking around, in the hope of discovering some object which might assist me in forming a judgement of distances, I fancied I saw a small animal in motion : I instantly took a few steps in that direction, when supposing myself to be within eight or ten yards, threw my stick at it ; but the missile seemed to fall almost at my feet, without in any degree attracting its notice. I then advanced quickly, and having recovered my stick, during a minute or two I remained plunged in the deepest perplexity of thought. After a while, however, I recollected I had in my pocket a small spy-glass, which I usually carried with me when out of town. To this valuable auxiliary I had immediate recourse, when, to my unspeakable astonishment, I soon perceived that, the little creature apparently within ten or fifteen yards of me, was a horse and sleigh, on the road to the falls of

Montmorency, distant at least three quarters of a mile.

I now turned back under some anxiety, intending to find my way to Quebec, and had proceeded about half a mile in that direction, guided by the sun, when I thought I perceived the promontory on which the city is seated, yet it seemed to be much larger than it should be; this, however, I attributed to the fog. Here again I was deceived for on advancing but some twenty yards, I ascertained that it was simply a fragment of ice, not a foot in height and perhaps ten to twelve feet long. I have witnessed many other equally singular optical deceptions, under similar circumstances, entirely occasioned by the absence of a scale to guide the judgment, in forming an estimate of the dimensions and distances of objects. A year or two after this I was at Niagara, the ground covered with snow, and having lost my way at night, on the plains, extending about a mile, between Fort George and the town of Newark, I suddenly, as I thought, saw a man at some distance; upon which, lest I might lose sight of him, before I should have time to inquire my way, I sprang forward to intercept him, when, to my

astonishment, I came in contact with the stump of a tree, about two feet high, which at the moment of my advance could not have been further from me than a couple of yards.

About the winter of 1798 or 1799, it was thought desirable to make some arrangements for enabling field artillery to act during the winter season, which would have been quite impracticable with wheeled carriages, even on the roads, since their guage was much greater than the span between the runners of the sleighs. Accordingly sleighs were constructed of such dimensions as should admit of the ordinary field pieces with their carriages entire, to be put upon them, and were drawn either by horses or by men.

As soon as all things were ready, the first experiment was made on the ice between Quebec and the island of Orleans ; it answered very well until a shot was fired to ascertain the strength of the sleigh, and also to notice the range of such guns when fired on the ice ; but at the first discharge the recoil was so enormous, I forget how much exactly, but certainly from fifty to one hundred feet, it was ordered that no more shot should be fired until some mode

could be devised for checking that evil. The next experiment with that view was by a vertical piece of iron made to slide perpendicularly downwards, like a bolt, the lower end being made in the form of a chisel, and on preparing to fire, this bolt was struck down so as to enter a half inch or so into the ice ; but the back of the chisel was placed towards the rear of the gun, offering a perpendicular resistance to the recoil. The gun was now fired, when the chisel-bolt offered such unyielding and rigid opposition to the powerful and sudden effect of the recoil, that the field piece with its travelling carriage and sleigh made a leap a yard high at least, and throwing a summerset, fell on its back, and went on sliding and twirling towards the rear to a considerable distance.

It now appeared, on duly considering the subject, that a resistance by severe friction, more on the principle of the mode of checking progress and stopping with skates, would be better and more likely to succeed ; this was accomplished by turning the chisel-bolt so as to present the oblique side of the cutting-part to the ice at an angle of about  $40^{\circ}$ , instead of

the perpendicular back, and a weight of some pounds was placed on the top of the bolt. Upon trial, I believe, this was found to answer tolerably well. As to the range of the shot, I do not recollect it exactly, but I think, that although the first graze could not, of course, be affected by the ice, yet the length of the ricochet, and extent of the final rolling of the shot was, I should say, quite double of the same on ordinary hard ground.

During one of the various excursions I made from Quebec, I saw some people on the ice at about ten miles above Quebec, and they seemed to be very busily engaged near a large hole which, at first, I thought, had been made for the purpose of procuring water. I was curious to learn the nature of their pursuits, so, leaving my sleigh, I contrived, not without some difficulty, to descend the banks of the St. Lawrence, to the river, and reached the spot. I then ascertained that they were fishing with a net stretched on a frame resembling an earthenware crate, with one of the small ends open, and which seemed to be just about the size of the hole through the ice. This framed-net was let down with the open end towards



the direction of the tide, so that, as the fish came up or went down with the current, they would enter the net and be caught; for it would seem they had not the wit to turn back. The net had not been many minutes in the water when it was drawn up, and its contents cast out on the ice, amounting to several bushels of a small fish about the size of large smelts exactly resembling a cod-fish, through which reason, I suppose, it is called Tommy-cod. Immediately on the net being drawn up, I observed the cattle on the shore running towards us from various quarters, and they devoured the fish with great relish. These people assured me those fish were very good, and they eat them with as much relish as their cattle. This induced me to carry away with me a hundred or two in the seat of my sleigh, but before I could place them there they were completely frozen. On the following morning, out of a couple of dozen I desired to be broiled for breakfast, three of them were restored to life whilst thawing them in a bucket of cold water, and they seemed to be as lively and active as they had been before they were taken.

It was, and may still be, a common practice amongst the farmers at the commencement of winter to kill all the cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry, &c., which they intend for their own consumption, or for market ; these are immediately exposed to the severe frost, are packed in snow, and when a portion is required it must be thawed by immersion in cold water, before it can be cooked. In this way fish is also preserved quite fresh throughout the winter, particularly oysters, which were brought to Quebec as late in the season as possible prior to the close of the navigation from the gulf. With regard to such shell-fish I do not think freezing kills them ; for I have always found them as difficult to open after being thawed as they are when fresh taken from the beds.

In mentioning this subject of frozen animals recovering their habitual activity after such a total suspension of the circulation, sometimes for several months, that it reminds me of a most extraordinary story I heard narrated, before I went to Canada, by a Colonel Thomas D——, of the artillery, who, had been several years in that country. The colonel was celebrated on account of the very extraordinary events which

he related of his peregrinations in Canada. He stated that whilst in Canada and quartered in the vicinity of 'Niagara's stupendous' falls, he was one day taking an agreeable walk, in the spring of the year, when he was greatly pleased on finding a most beautiful stick lying on the path, and which was surprisingly marked in a regular manner with the most splendid colours. Much pleased with his good fortune, he carried the stick home, and having placed it in the corner, of the room, which was well warmed by a stove; after attending to some unimportant matter, he was startled on observing his stick quitting its corner, and he saw before him one of the most venomous snakes, that can be found on the whole continent of North America.

The colonel whilst quartered at Niagara, was one morning in the spring of the year, engaged in writing and completing several letters, in order to be ready in time to be forwarded to England. He had been some considerable time thus occupied, when, to his great annoyance, the daylight seemed to be ebbing fast and very suddenly too. He ordered candles, but after some two hours time, to his fullest amazement,

he perceived daylight had returned, and the sky beautifully clear, the sun shining as bright as ever. This darkness, said he, had been caused by an immense flock of pigeons flying over our quarters, on their way from the south towards the north.

I must do the colonel the justice to observe, that the flocks of pigeons in America, surpass everything that can be thought possible by a European who has never been in that country ; and I well remember, when at Niagara, our making various calculations with a view to arrive at some approximate amount of the number composing one of these flocks ; but estimates so formed are unavoidably based on so many if's, that no satisfactory result could be obtained. I have seen a flock of pigeons, undoubtedly two or three miles wide, and which was three or four hours flying past one spot. They are said to fly at the rate of seventy to ninety miles per hour ; and I have seen the Indian boys on the plains of Niagara, knock down more with their sticks, than an equal number of persons occupied at the same time with their guns. The flight is frequently so low as to pass within two or three feet from the ground ; but I have never noticed that the

light of the sun had been in any way diminished by them.

I shall record but one more of this celebrated naturalist's anecdotes, and I think it was his favourite story. The colonel, speaking of Canada, often would observe, "that, Sir, is the finest country in the world for the sportsman; shooting, flying or on the branch, game of all sorts, wild animals, such as bears, deer, stags, cariboo's, moose-deer, hares, foxes, &c., and a vast number more. But the fishing surpasses them all; trout are there in the greatest abundance: fifty dozen have I taken in one day out of Lake Charles, near Quebec. Why, Sir, I went out one day to shoot salmon at a leap not far distant from Quebec. I had not taken up my ground many minutes, on the banks of a shallow and narrow rivulet, when I observed a fine salmon working up in an eddy, and getting ready to leap up the falls about ten feet high, upon which I knocked my gun, and, as he sprang out of the water, I let fly, and down he fell. Strange as it may appear, yet it is no less true, that just at the same moment, a partridge flew right across in the same direction as the fish, and caught a dose

of the shot, upon which it went on flying but a short distance, and fell in a bush exactly opposite, on the other side of the rivulet, which of course I carefully marked. The stream was running very swiftly, and I feared my salmon would be floated away into deep water where I could not follow him, so I hastened to secure him with my landing-net. I then took my time about the partridge, and having stripped my legs, I waded to the other side, and what do you think, Sir? why I found the partridge lying in the bush on a hare, Sir, I had shot at the same time, he was struggling in his last moments. Thus you see, Sir, I killed flesh, fish, and fowl, at one shot." Having said this, throwing up his spectacles to the top of his forehead, as was his custom on these occasions with an air of exultation, he exclaimed several times, "oh, it's a most marvellous country for the sportsman."

On the 18th of January, the anniversary of the Queen's birthday, a grand ball was given by the governor at the château. This was one of the public nights, when all persons holding certain offices under government, all officers of the provincial militia, in addition to the military

and naval officers, had the privilege of attending without special invitations. Many of those individuals looked forward to that day with extraordinary anxiety and impatience. Amongst these was a Monsieur M——, a Canadian, about fifty to sixty years of age; a very large man, and he prided himself on dressing in the best court style, and also on his superlative politeness and elegance of deportment. Monsieur M—— was fond of the good things composing such a splendid supper, as never failed to be provided on these occasions.

On this celebrated 18th day of January, 1798, Monsieur M—— exercised his privilege of being present at the ball and supper, and at the latter took his seat on one of the long benches covered with green baize, his back turned towards the middle of the room—for the tables followed the walls, leaving a considerable space in the centre. It was not necessary that every person should sit down, nor indeed would there have been sufficient space; the officers in general preferred to remain standing behind the ladies, displaying their zeal in attending to their wants.

We now, as if by previous concert, began

to invite Monsieur M—— to drink wine, who was exceedingly flattered by this frequent notice taken of him by the officers. Monsieur had been engaged many hours during the morning in paying *noyeau-visits*, as we described those calls on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd of January, for his acquaintance spread far and wide, and he had not been able to complete the round of his extensive circle during the limits of the three first days of the year. Monsieur M—— was, therefore well primed before he came to the governor's ball; and whilst some of the wags were engaging him in the flattering occupation of drinking wine with them, others at his back were filling his outside pockets gradually and slyly; first the leg of a chicken was dropped in, then a slice of tongue, some hard eggs and beetroot salad, a custard, a glass of port-wine, then a little punch and maccaroons, and so on until it was thought prudent to desist.

Monsieur M—— at length rose from his seat, and commenced his voyage up the grand stairs to the ball-room; but, from the dimensions of his person, his age, or the deranged head, I know not which, he clung to the banisters with extended arms, whilst he



laboured, from step to step, his feet a yard apart, causing him to swing from side to side, the skirts of his ample fawn-coloured silk coat, lined with white of the same material, swinging from right to left and from left to right, partly caused by the weight of the well-filled pockets. His ambition was first to arrive at the top, whence, with majestic gait, he traversed the saloon many times, to the great satisfaction of himself, for he was not blind to the attraction his presence had created, since the eyes of the company were almost exclusively concentrated on himself, which strengthened his previously-established conviction that he was by far the best dressed and most elegant man in the room.

The winters are so severe in Canada, but particularly in the lower province, that all out-of-door business at that season is necessarily suspended; even the public works of every description are stopped. Consequently, as an officer of engineers, I had no duty to perform nor any kind of official occupation. The merchants gave themselves up to pleasuring with the rest of the fashionables, since there were no ships with goods to dispatch nor cargoes

expected. Parties of pleasure into the country, beef-steak clubs, pic-nics at the farmers' houses ; in short, every kind of recreation was sought after and industriously pursued.

My best friend, Lieutenant Backwell of the Royal Engineers, had arrived at Quebec a few months before me, with his amiable wife, formerly Betsy Le Maistre, of Jersey ; and he introduced me to Colonel Francis Le Maistre, Mrs. Backwell's uncle. The Colonel was governor of Gaspé, had been many years a resident at Quebec ; and at his house in the society of his amiable family, consisting of his lady and two daughters, with one son, then a boy of twelve years of age, I passed many very agreeable hours. Le Maistre was especially fond of good living, and had grown to an extra size ; and whilst engaged in the pleasures of the table, he frequently entertained his friends with many anecdotes of days, long since gone by.

He related, that a few years prior to the time he was then speaking of, when Lord Dorchester was governor at Quebec, a young ensign, who had just arrived from England to join his regiment in Canada, was, according to custom,

invited to dine at Government House. Lord Dorchester was a very precise man, admired, perfect carving, and was partial to all the little niceties of society. His lordship had already formed an unfavourable opinion of this young man. He was too *dégagé*, and somewhat careless, he had already spilled a little gravy, but now he threw over a bumper of port wine, which sent forth a long purple streak across the white damask. The Governor was unfortunately sitting nearly opposite, and immediately exclaimed: "Good God! Sir, where could you have been brought up?" fixing a sharp reproachful look on the ensign, which in nine cases out of ten would have started a youngster from the table; but our friend, who was of an aristocratic family, was not so easily dismayed, and resting his case on its simplicity, respectfully replied: "My lord, I was brought up at my father's table, where we had a clean table-cloth every day."

A few days after this, Le Maistre proceeded, our ensign was on duty at the main-guard near the château occupied by the Governor, when Lady Dorchester and her children, some of them very young, were passing on foot in

front of the guard, and had to cross a very insignificant gutter, which, however, was frequently the channel of a very offensive drainage, descending from the entrance into St. Louis Street, and crossing the open space between the château and the court-house. Lady Dorchester and her children proceeded towards the saluting battery, and one of the children of tender age, in attempting to leap over this drain, not a foot wide, slipped and fell on his back in the middle of it. The ensign, who was lounging about in front of his guard, ran to the assistance of the child, and replacing it on his feet, with his own handkerchief wiped off the mud, and endeavoured by kind and affectionate words to silence the distress and grief of the child; but in an instant, Lady Dorchester, the proudest woman of her days, on seeing the efforts of the young officer to soothe the infant, and recognising in him the impertinent ensign who had dared to insult the Governor at his own table, and that too in her presence, darted up to him full of rage, angrily demanding: "How dare you, Sir, touch my child with your unwholesome hands and filthy handkerchief? How dare you, I say,

again to repeat your insults and vulgar impertinences?"

"Oh, my lady, the mischief can be very easily repaired," coolly retorted the offender, and without allowing his temper to be in the slightest degree ruffled, he took up the child and laid it down again at his full length in the gutter, then made one of his best bows to my lady, and retired into the guard-room.

It was during the early part of the year 1798 that the last surviving member of the Society of Jesus died at Quebec in the building which had been the property of his order, up to the period when Canada, and more particularly Quebec had passed into the hands of the British Government. On that occasion it had been agreed that the Jesuits should retain so much of that immense building as was necessary for their accommodation, but that no new members should be admitted, and that as soon as the last should have expired, the whole of the property was to be occupied by Government. In proportion as the members of the society diminished, so the Government extended its possession, and at the time when the last Jesuit died, the convent was used as a

barrack by the 24th Regiment, excepting so much as had been reserved for the residence of the venerable father.

I was not present at the funeral procession of this worthy Jesuit, who had attained a great age, I believe nearly one hundred years. I was informed that his body was carried through the principal streets in an uncovered coffin, followed by a numerous train of Roman-Catholic clergy, and an immense number of people of all classes and persuasions, and that every honour was shown to his memory. I do not know if the procession was directed to pass any of the military guard, but I well remember that whenever the host was carried past any of them, it was not only expected, but it was ordered, that the guard should turn out, open ranks, present arms, and the whole to kneel on the ground on one knee, then take off their hats, and remain in that position until the procession had passed on to the usual distance for continuing military honours. Our officers and soldiers grumbled, but the order was nevertheless strictly enforced.

## CHAPTER XII.

Order to go to the Island of St. Joseph—My first gambling—Sir A. Mackenzie gives me a passage in his canoe—Drunken party at La Chine, and its consequences—The Ottaway river—The details of canoe loads—Point-aux-Croix—Some of the rapids—Arrival at St. Joseph's—The garrison—A scientific traveller—Purchase of the island from the Indians—Execution of McLean for high treason—Salted rations—Natural vegetation.

ON the 25th of April, the snow having melted away so as to leave various places bare, I received a note from Colonel Mann desiring me to be with him on the following morning, when he put into my hands an order to proceed to the island of St. Joseph, the furthest military post in Upper Canada, seated at, or near, the junction of Lakes Superior, Huron and Michigan. I also received some general instructions and

two estimates, one for executing the works necessary to form a complete military post, consisting of a large block-house, a guard-house, a powder-magazine, a provision-store, an Indian department store-house, an Indian council-house, and a baking-house, the whole to be enclosed by palisades ; moreover, I was ordered to construct a wharf for the use of the shipping ; but there were no plans, sections, nor even descriptions of the buildings. In regard to the financial department, I was desired to draw bills on the commanding engineer for such sums as might be required for payment of the workmen. In consequence of the great distance of the island of St. Joseph from Quebec—about fourteen hundred miles—a valuable portion of the summer would be consumed before I could arrive at my destination, were I to proceed by the ordinary military route ; that is, by Kingston, Niagara and Amherstburgh, I was therefore desired to use my best efforts to obtain a passage in one of the North-West Company's canoes, which annually proceeded by the River Ottaway.

I secured a passage in a small trading-sloop to Montreal, and, as the hour for her sailing



was about two o'clock in the morning, my friend Captain-Lieutenant Edward Vincent Eyre, of the 26th regiment, invited me to pass the evening preceding my departure at his lodgings, where I met a party composed chiefly of officers of the 24th and 26th regiments, and there were also some of the Artillery, and my friend Lieutenant Backwell of the Engineers, who, was also under orders to proceed to Amherstburgh, to relieve Lieutenant Cooper of the same corps.

The party assembled, and as many whist-tables were opened as necessary, and thus all proceeded quietly until near supper time, when one of the party took up the cards, and whilst the cloth was spreading, offered to play at lansquenet for six-pences ; this did not continue longer than a few minutes, when the whole sat down to the cold meat.

As soon as the cloth had been removed, Lieutenant Sheerman, of the 26th, who had lost a few six-pences, took up the cards, and recommenced the lansquenet, when from six-pences to shillings, from shillings to half-dollars, from half-dollars to dollars, and then half guineas, and guineas, the game assumed a formal gambling, in right good earnest. I

soon not only lost every penny of ten pounds, I had provided for my journey, but had lost as much more which I had borrowed from my friends, Backwell and Eyre, who, moreover, lent me six pounds to carry me on my journey to St. Joseph's.

The hour had arrived for my embarkation, when Backwell and Eyre escorted me to the market-place, in the lower town. Groping our way through the silent streets, for it was past midnight, and we neither met a human being, nor did we even see a light, such was the tranquillity of the streets of Quebec at the time I am writing. Not without some difficulty we procured a boat, and on arriving alongside of the little sloop, we learnt that another vessel had run against her by which she had been so damaged, that she could not proceed that night—nor indeed for at least a couple of days. We returned, and Eyre gave me a shake-down for the remainder of the night.

On the next evening, Backwell, Eyre, and myself went to pass an hour or two at Colonel Le Maistre's. There was no formal party, Mrs. Backwell being the only lady in addition to the Colonel's family, and we played a sixpenny pool

at commerce, when the ladies left the room to attend to the supper arrangements ; upon this, having the cards in my hand, I remarked to Eyre and Backwell, who were standing at the table, "do you remember last night," as I turned up for the company and self?

Eyre at once said: "I'll set a pound," "So will I," exclaimed Backwell. "Done," I replied, when before three cards had been turned up, I had won. "Double or quits," they both exclaimed, "it's done," said I, and I won again. I was very young indeed, for I four times accepted to double, but had the good fortune each time to win ; another doubling was proposed, but I saw the folly of going on, and I said no I should set one guinea each, which I again won, and so went on till I had won twenty-six pounds, at which moment the ladies coming in, I surrendered the cards, and we proceeded to supper. This piece of good fortune enabled me to repay my friends, and I very solemnly resolved, never to play again for more than a very trifling stake. I have ever since that day most rigidly observed my determination.

On my arrival at Montreal, Sir Alexander

Mackenzie was so kind as to give me a passage in one of the light-canoes of the North-West-Company, about to proceed to the Grand-Portage, on Lake Superior, by way of the Grand or Ottaway river; and it was arranged I should take my seat in a canoe with Mr. William, McGillivray, Mr. Shaw, and one of the company's clerks, Mr. Wells. All the preparations for this stupendous journey, being completed, on the 12th of May, the earliest day in the spring, when it was judged prudent to set out in order to avoid meeting with obstruction from the ice, I left Montreal in a *calèche* with McGillivray, and in the moderate space of three hours, arrived without broken bones or sore injuries, at La Chine, distant nine miles from Montreal.

The road we had followed, the only one between those places, which scarcely deserved such a name, was at first rough enough, but on advancing it entered a sort of wood, where every one followed his own fancy. The surface was covered or scattered thickly with stones, each of them large enough to upset any kind of vehicle, and these were partly standing in water, so that in proceeding it not unfrequently hap-

pened, that in turning this way to avoid one of those masses you plunged the wheel of your carriage, on the other side, into a deep hole in the ground, concealed by the water.

At La Chine we found the two 'canoes, destined to proceed with us, by the shore opposite to a house belonging to the North-West Company ; and wherein an abundant luncheon was waiting our arrival. Several officers in the army, amongst them Colonel Gordon and Lieutenant McArthur, of the 60th regiment, and some of the North-West Company, not about to form part of our expedition, had accompanied us, all of them, I believe, natives of the Highlands of Scotland, so that I was the only *foreigner* amongst them. We sat down, and without loss of time expedited the lunch intended to supersede a dinner, during which time the bottle had freely circulated, raising the old Highland drinking propensity, so that there was no stopping it ; Highland speeches and sayings, Highland reminiscences, and Highland farewells, with the *dioch and dorich*, over and over again, was kept up with extraordinary energy, so that by six or seven o'clock, I had, in common with many of the others fallen from

my seat. To save my legs from being trampled on, I contrived to draw myself into the fireplace, and sat up in one of the corners there being no stove nor grate.

I there remained very passive, contemplating the proceedings of those who still remained at table, when at length Sir Alexander Mackenzie, as president, and McGillivray, as vice-president, were the last retaining their seats. Mackenzie now proposed to drink to our memory, and then give the war-whoop over us, fallen foes or friends, all nevertheless on the floor, and in attempting to push the bottle to McGillivray, at the opposite end of the table, he slid off his chair, and could not recover his seat whilst McGillivray, in extending himself over the table, in the hope of seizing the bottle which Mackenzie had attempted to push to him, also in like manner began to slide on one side, and fell helpless on the floor.

During this long and unprovided for delay, the clerks of the North-West Company had thought it best to send off the two canoes with all the baggage to the *bout-de-l'île*, (the end of the island), and had made arrangements for us to follow in *calèches* by land, a distance of

eighteen miles along the bank of the river. Accordingly, at about nine o'clock, the night being very dark, the wind strong, and a drizzling rain beating in our faces, those destined to commence their long and perilous voyage by the Grand River, Lake Nipisang, the French River, and thence along the northern rocky coast of of Lake Huron, then an uninhabited tract of about nine hundred miles, were bundled up in couples into four *calèches*, whilst Colonel Gordon of the 60th regiment, a man full six feet and five or six inches high, Lieutenant McArthur of the same corps, a short, stout man, both Highlanders, and several others, whose names I cannot now recollect, mounted their horses with more or less difficulty, vainly expecting they should be able to grope their way to Montreal, in the darkest night, when he who accomplished that feat at mid-day, unless a constant performer, might be deemed a clever fellow. On my return to Montreal twelve months afterwards, I learnt Gordon had wandered about, without knowing where, for twenty-four hours, and reached home on the following night, whilst McArthur had dropped from his horse, and there fallen asleep or

remained senseless until found by some of the peasantry, and on the second day had reached his quarters at Montreal.

I was placed in a *calèche* with Mr. McLeod, and my little favourite dog, which I had brought from England. The road, as already stated, closely followed the top of the steep bank of the St. Lawrence, and having no fence nor protection of any kind to prevent vehicles from running off and plunging into the river below at the depth of twelve to twenty feet, or perhaps into a narrow border of mud formed in many parts by the washing down of the banks during the freshes in the spring of the year.

We started off bravely, but had not advanced very far, when from the seat, upon which I had been so carefully placed, one pitch into a hole or rut, full of water and mud, into which the wheel on my side had suddenly plunged, I was bounced off into the bottom of the *calèche*, where I sat doubled up, my knees above my ears. The road was so full of holes and ruts, concealed by the deep mud, that we were in constant danger. Whilst in the position just described, from which I was either unable or unwilling to move, another pitch into a rut,



with a corresponding reaction, sent me flying out of the *calèche*. I fell head foremost towards the ground, but the instinct of self-preservation directed me to hold on by the footstep and shafts with both my hands, whilst my feet and legs up to my knees were still in a manner hooking on to the sort of side door made to open for the conveniency of getting in or out. My head received most fearful bumps on the road, now most happily, for me, rendered delightfully soft by the abundance of mud, neither solid nor liquid, but somewhat of the consistency of pudding and sauce. In this attitude, the driver, sitting on a small seat over the apron, was quite unconscious of my danger, and, mistaking my roaring out to stop for exhortations to make better speed, applied the whip without mercy. At length, however, he stopped, but not before we had gone on at least fifty yards. On recovering my seat in the *calèche* and my scattered senses, I discovered that my hat, watch, money, and every other article I had had in my pockets had been scattered along the road. But a short time was I allowed to enjoy my returning wits—for I had had enough to kill or cure any drunken

man—when I felt the carriage begin to heel a great deal too much for our safety. This was on the left side, next the river, and I was on the right side, at the same moment, the Canadian driver, lustily, roared out: “Ah, mon Dieu! nous versons dans la rivière.” This declaration was in perfect unison with my own conviction, judging from the inclined position of the *calèche*, and I required no further provocation to endeavour to save myself from the awful fate of a pitch down the river bank into the water or deep slimy mud. I therefore, without waiting a moment, either to consider or take McLeod’s advice, bounced out any how, and as I tumbled on the muddy road, the *calèche*, the driver, and McLeod turned head over heels down the bank some fifteen feet deep, fortunately into very shallow water covering the mud.

People from the adjoining houses yielded their assistance most good-humouredly with lanterns, ropes, ladders, and the apparatus necessary to drag the horse and carriage up a bank that was almost perpendicular. It was probably long after midnight when everything was restored to a travelling position and we

proceeded. The nerves of the driver had suffered a severe shock, and he went on in fear, for he repeatedly declared he could not see his way. Thus he was constantly on the alert, and in a very short time he bawled out we were going over the bank a second time. I had done so well on the first event of this nature, that I instantly made but one spring, and fell, not on the road, but into a large piece of water, which took me up to my knees. From this I was easily extricated, and dripping wet with water and mud, I remounted the *calèche* and away we went as before.

During this wretched night we had many more escapes, and we arrived at the end of the island long after daylight, at about six o'clock, having been ten hours on the road. Our appearance, as we approached our friends who were all on the look for us, created a considerable degree of merriment, particularly my head, which strongly resembled a mop which had been first dipped into water and then into a dust-hole. All however, upon inquiry, had been in like manner turned over, some in the river, others into ditches or pools of water, and every one had to

lament the loss of some article of great utility on such a journey.

Having prepared myself for resuming my journey, the twelve *voyageurs*, as the canoe-men are called, were ordered into their respective stations, and the *bourgeois*, or masters, embarked four in each, and away we started, with hearty expressions of goodwill from those who remained. Our people reiterated Indian war-whoops as long as the windings of the waters we were on, allowed of our remaining in sight.

After passing the Lake of the Two Mountains, we entered the narrower, but more rapid waters, and then commenced the heavy work. Without enumerating the names of the various rapids, cascades, and shallow waters, I shall merely state that from the starting-place to Lake Huron, there were fifty-four places, even in the spring of the year, when the waters are high, where the whole of the contents of the canoes had to be carried by the canoe-men in order to pass some of the rapids or cascades, and of these there were thirty-six where even the canoe also was unavoidably carried, where the navigation was totally ob-

structed. One of these latter places, I think named the Roche Capitain, was three miles long, but the others were chiefly of much less extent than a mile. In one of the portages I was shown a sharp, axe-formed rock, projecting edge upwards above the surface of the ground about six or eight inches, and upon which, one of the men engaged in carrying a canoe, fell with his neck exactly on the edge, whilst the edge of the canoe fell on the opposite side of the poor creature's neck, by which he was completely decapitated. A rough cross made of wood marked the spot where his body was buried, close to the fatal stone.

These canoes were exceedingly strong and capacious, they were about thirty-six feet in length, by six feet wide, near the middle; and although the birch bark which formed a thin external coating over their ribs of white cedar, and their longitudinal laths of the same wood, appeared to compose but a flimsy vessel, yet they usually carried a weight of five tons. It may be as well to state that this cargo was very carefully stowed, in order to remove any unequal pressure, which would have been fatal to such a vessel. Four poles, three or four inches in diameter at the thickest ends, denomi-

nated by the Canadians, *grand-perch*, and nearly as long as the canoe, were laid side by side in the middle of the bottom of the canoe. On these poles, the cargo was carefully arranged so that all the weight rested on them, and none allowed to press against the bare and unprotected sides of the canoe. Every package was made up of the weight of ninety pounds and none heavier.

The five tons included the provision for ten men, sufficient to support them during about twenty to twenty-two days. Each canoe was provided with a mast and a lug-sail, and also each man had a ten-foot setting-pole, of good ash, shod with an iron ferrule at each end, for assisting the men towing with a strong line in ascending the rapids. The paddles were supplied by the canoe-men, each bringing his own. Each canoe had also a camp-kettle, provided by the owners, as also a few Hambro lines, a bundle of watap, roots of the pine-tree, for stitching up any seam that might burst, a parcel of gum of a resinous nature, for paying over the seams when leaky, a piece of birch-bark for repairs, hatchet, crooked knife, and a few more indispensable articles.

The crew consisted of a guide, a steersman,

and eight common paddlers, but all worked alike. The guide was paid about as much as four ordinary men, and the steersman half as much. Sixteen to twenty pounds was about the wages of a good guide. On arriving at a carrying-place, everything was unloaded with expedition and care ; and whilst six men were required to transport the canoe, the others hastened to carry the goods, each man bearing two packs, and sometimes, as a display of strength, three. The canoe I was in had twelve men, as also the other one in company, and no merchandise, nothing but provisions and our baggage, which gave us a wonderful advantage in passing the carrying-places, as two trips was always found to be sufficient to carry the whole. The carriers of the canoe had the severest work, and as it weighed about fifteen hundred pounds, it is clear each man of the six was expected to bear, on level ground, about two hundred and fifty pounds ; but under many circumstances, when the ground was at all uneven, the whole weight was unequally divided. It was very interesting to me to see the extraordinary facility with which these men reversed the canoe and in an instant shouldered it, which

required great expertness, as any slip or accident would have destroyed the vessel, beyond the power of repairing.

The only incidents that I recollect to have occurred on this journey, are that on arriving at the first encamping place for the night, my shoes were still so damp that I placed them with the upper leathers towards the fire, but at such a distance as I thought beyond the range of mischief, yet on the following morning I found the toes and heels drawn together, and the leather so brittle that on attempting to straighten the soles, they broke to pieces like earthenware. I had no second pair; I was reduced to the necessity of going bare-footed until I arrived at St. Joseph's.

The most unpleasant part of the journey was when we arrived at the highest land, where there was a chain of small lakes called the vazes or mud ponds: they were very shallow, the spaces between them were swamps covered with long grass and rushes, in passing which without shoes, I felt much alarm, lest I might tread on some of the numerous tribes of deadly snakes. This tract was moreover, infested by mosquitoes, sand-flies, and brûlots; the former are veno-



mous in a high degree, but the latter were, if possible, more annoying, for in striking the face, at the same moment, they made a hole so large, that the blood would run down to the tip of the chin, from a single bite. Point-aux-Croix, in Lake Nipisang, is so named in consequence of the loss of a canoe in a gale of wind, on a rocky shore, when eleven persons perished; to commemorate the event and mark the spot where these people were interred, a rough wooden cross was erected on each grave. Point-aux-Croix is a low, barren, rocky, flat surface, treeless, and I think shrubless, and even not much grass. Here we found a family of Indians, from whom we purchased two fine sturgeons, weighing about sixty or seventy pounds each, and for which we paid a bottle of rum, (half water).

The day was too far advanced to proceed further, and we accordingly prepared to encamp on this spot. Whilst the tent was erecting, I observed one of our men cut off the tail and a peice of fish weighing about seven pounds, and toast it at the fire; in the course of an hour he had eaten it all; and seeing me standing at a short distance looking at him, he held up the bone with a grin of exultation. In like manner

the others played their parts, and finished every morsel of the one hundred and forty pounds of sturgeon, long before the hour of departure in the morning. From this place we soon entered the French river near its source, and commenced to run down its rapid stream.

The Parisien Rapid is one of the worst of those inclined shoots, it is very narrow, and requires an extraordinary degree of skill, to descend it with safety through its turbulent waters, and avoid two large rocks under water, one at each end, but on contrary sides, rendering it necessary to cross through the middle of a high ridge of water formed by the velocity of the current.

We also had to run down a long tract of exceedingly swift water, though not rough ; the channel is so narrow that I do not think there is more than two or three feet to spare on each side of the canoe, whilst we were darting along at the rate of ten miles or more per hour—fortunately the rocks forming the sides are a very smooth decomposing granite with a few thinly scattered pines or white cedar stunted shrubs. This rapid is eight or ten miles long and is called the Dalls.

No men in the world are more severely worked than are these Canadian voyageurs. I have known them to work in a canoe twenty hours out of twenty-four, and go on at that rate during a fortnight or three weeks without a day of rest or any diminution of labour ; but it is not with impunity they so exert themselves ; they lose much flesh in the performance of such journies, though the quantity of food they consume is incredible. They smoke almost incessantly, and sing peculiar songs, which are the same their fathers and grandfathers and probably their great-grandfathers sang before them ; the time is about the same as that of our military quick marches, and is marked by the movement of their paddles.

They rest from five to ten minutes every two hours, when they refill their pipes : it is more common for them to describe distances, by so many pipes, than in any other way. In regard to the use of spirits they are always allowed a dram of high wines, a strong distillation from corn, in the morning and one at night. They are short lived and rarely are fit to voyage after they have attained their fortieth year, and sixty years seems to be the average of their existence.

It must not, however, be supposed that they are tempted by high prices or by any other allure-ment thus to shorten their lives ; I believe they are ambitious of being styled, *homme-du-nord*, a Northman, one who voluntarily leaves his family, and the comforts of a tranquil life, to voyage in the Indian country, and pass at least one winter in the North, usually understood to be beyond the western banks of Lake Superior. These men, *hommes-du-nord*, regard themselves, and are regarded by their friends, as very superior beings—men of a high courage, who have proved that they hold the effeminacies of civilised life in contempt, and that they can cheerfully submit to every kind of hardship ; as they live upon Indian-corn and grease without any salted or other meat but that procured by the gun—they apply the epithet of *mangeurs-de-lard*, or pork-eaters to all those who have never passed a winter in the north.

This short life does not in any way apply to the remainder of the Canadian people ; for the climate is so salubrious, owing chiefly to its exceeding dryness in winter, that I have known a considerable number of them live to a great age. One poor man, an authorized beggar,

known by the Canadians as Père André, was ninety-eight years of age when I saw him, and when I made a sketch of him at Quebec, in 1798, Père André was then hale and strong. He almost daily, without respect to the severest winter weather, walked into town, some four or five miles from his home, with his large bag over his shoulder, for carrying back the collection he made of provision.

At Montreal, I saw a beggar who resided on the Mountain, about three miles from town ; and this man, also, habitually walked into town daily, although in 1799 he was one hundred and sixteen years old. He was greatly respected in consideration of his age ; and no one would think of offering him a less sum than a small silver coin of the value of about three pence. So healthy and dry is this climate, that it was a general remark that we could always hear every word of the church service and sermon even in the winter—no one, Canadians or Europeans, ever seeming to be afflicted with a cough.

I must now return to our canoes, which after passing the vazes we re-entered and proceeded down the French river to Lake Huron : thence

to the island of St. Joseph, we followed the north side of Lake Huron, a very interesting tract of country, composed of granite forming innumerable islands, most of them exceedingly diminutive, and producing very little vegetation—dwarf pine or white cedars. These islands are very useful in protecting the navigation by small craft from exposure to the heavy seas or more properly waves, raised by the winds which are frequently severe, and the water is so deep close to these rocks and islands, that I several times have sounded in eight or nine fathoms water whilst standing on a mere rock, moreover, it is so clear that the bottom can be seen distinctly, at the depth of five or six fathom or more.

As we advanced we gained a view, in the offing, of the celebrated Manitoualin islands, and without losing sight of them, arrived at the island of St. Joseph, distant between two hundred and fifty and three hundred miles from the mouth of the French river. This island is seated at about forty miles from the falls of St. Mary, at the entrance to the straits between Lakes Huron and Superior, and is about fifty-two miles in circuit. I was very politely received by the officers of the little garrison occupying a

temporary fort, some three or four miles distant from the post I was about to form, more towards the West. Here my friends of the North-West Company most kindly made me many little presents of small intrinsic value, but where nothing could be purchased they were of the highest utility, and then proceeded on their way to their destination at the Western extremity of Lake Superior, known as the Grand Portage. I shall never forget my obligations to those amiable men, and on parting I felt most severely the loss of their society.

Having remained a couple of days with the officers of this post, I left them to take possession of my quarters in a hut which had been built by my friend, Lieutenant Lacy, during the preceding summer; and I lost no time in making all the arrangements for carrying my orders into effect.

The garrison consisted of one company of the 2nd battalion of the Canadian volunteers, commanded by Captain Peter Drummond, who, I believe had served in the American war, Lieutenant Johnson, and Ensign W. Dace, and thirty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, in addition to these there was an interpreter, a store-

keeper, and an Indian department armourer. My hut was about twenty feet square, formed of logs in the usual way, but had no chimney; this defect was remedied by a wide space paved in the middle for the fire-place, and a hole two feet square in the roof to let out the smoke—for there was no ceiling and no boarded floor, but it could boast of one window with oiled paper, a tolerably good substitute for glass. The first night I occupied this mansion, I awoke under considerable alarm, fully believing the place was on fire, but my servant who unavoidably slept in the same apartment, there being but one, soon undeceived me, by explaining that the quantity of sparks I fancied I saw, were fire-flies, of which there was a vast number.

After the arrival of my luggage, which I had despatched by the usual military rout, viâ the lakes, I was far more comfortable, having amongst other matters provided myself with a small but useful library. I rose every morning at break of day, and occupied myself until eight o'clock in cutting down trees and reducing them to the proper dimensions for fire-wood, and carried the same to form a high wall round



three sides of my hut, to shelter it during winter, and supply the fire. In this way I gained appetite for breakfast, I acquired strength, and improved my health and constitution, and moreover, I failed not to sleep soundly every night. After breakfast, my time was exclusively devoted to the works.

The only interruptions, or more properly suspensions, of these very regular pursuits, I experienced during the summer of 1798, was caused by the arrival of a Mr. Mason, a naturalist, whom I understood was employed in some way by government. Mr. Mason was at that time about sixty years of age or perhaps more; very kind in his manners, very plain and unassuming; and I thought him very scientific. He accepted of a shelter and what trifling nourishment I could provide, with unaffected diffidence, and submitted to the thousand inconveniences of the want of every comfort, without an expression of regret, excepting his frequent mention of the fear he entertained of incommoding me. He showed me a species of rat, or an animal greatly resembling one, which he had very recently procured, and which had a large pouch or bag on each side of its under-

jaw about the size of a pigeon's egg, and pending almost as low as the ground. This bag was a mere membrane, exceedingly thin. Mr. Mason told me it was an animal hitherto unknown, and that he should send it to the British Museum, naming it after himself—Masonian.

Soon after Mr. Mason, came a short strong-built man, whose business no one could fathom, nor could any of us find out the country that owned him. His name, he said, was Birkett, but he seemed to have no object in view, or real pursuit.

A little later, came from Amherstburgh one of the Government vessels, partly laden with the goods to be delivered to the several Indian tribes, owners of the island of St. Joseph, in payment for the purchase thereof; and with the goods came some three or four officers of the Indian department. Amongst them was a Mr. Pollard, afterwards the Reverend Richard Pollard and Mr. Selby. These gentlemen were charged with the ceremony of completing the purchase, by paying the price and executing the title deeds. The whole of the Indian tribes to whom the goods were to be delivered, having assembled on the ground

adjoining the old fort ; the merchandise, consisting of blankets, broad-cloths of every colour, guns, flints, powder, shots, ribbons, a few large silver medals for chiefs, steels for striking fire, some silver brooches, ear-rings and drops, and a very moderate quantity of rum, reduced to one third of the ordinary strength ; the whole of these articles were worth, according to their value at Montreal, five thousand pounds.

The deed, on parchment, drawn up no doubt in the usual form was produced, and read by Mr. Prideau Selby, the secretary to the Commissions, and interpreted to the Indians by Captain La Mott, the interpreter ; when it appeared that the island of St. Joseph is fifty-two miles in circumference. Each of the chiefs of the various tribes was required to execute the deed, which he did by drawing the animal or hieroglyphic representing his name or that of his tribe, and the officers comprising the garrison, including myself, signed as witnesses.

After partaking of some refreshments of a very humble description, and the Indians having, on the other hand, heated themselves with the spirits, began to be noisy : we found

it quite impossible to resist their forcing their company upon us, and although they in no way committed any acts that might be alarming to those habituated to their harmless familiarities, yet our visitors the commissioners, began to view their position as dangerous and entertained some serious alarm for their personal safety.

Some of the first-rate Indian dancers came forward and gratified us with the Eagle dance, the Beaver dance, the War dance, and some other extraordinary feats requiring great muscular strength; the whole of them in their gala costume and painted in the most whimsical manner. Our commissioners, unused to be surrounded by six hundred or seven hundred savages, could no longer control their fears, and without much hypocrisy started off, and lost not a moment in securing themselves from these wild-looking people, on board of the vessel; hastily requesting Captain Drummond to protect the property which they had no time to carry off with them.

Prior to the departure of the commissioners, my worthy friend Mr. R. Pollard related to me, with much humour, an event which in the

preceding year had filled all Canada with surprise, horror, and some merriment—the discovery of a conspiracy, having for its object the assassination of all the officers at Quebec, both military and civil; but I never learnt the further particulars of the scheme.

Only one individual was apprehended and condemned as guilty of high treason, and was executed accordingly. I shall proceed, preserving as far as my notes and memory will serve, in Pollard's own words. "Last summer (1797), one McLean, supposed to be a native of the United States, was arrested under a charge of high treason; he was tried, and condemned to suffer death according to the barbarous and disgusting form of the law practised in those days; that is, to be hanged for a quarter of an hour, cut down, his face beaten with his heart, his head cut off, and his body divided into four quarters. During many years prior to this event, the sheriff, Mr. S—, an aged and amiable man, had not been called upon to carry into effect the extreme penalty of the law, so that there was no regularly-retained public executioner at that time in all Canada. The chance of a respite being quite out of the question, the sheriff at once advertised for an operator; yet,

up to the evening immediately preceding the day appointed for the execution, no one had offered his services. The clock had struck eight, when the sheriff, almost driven to madness, was revolving in his mind by what means he could extricate himself from his awful position. He had twice determined on resigning his office, the salary of which was about £600 per annum, when a very gentle, single knock at the door filled his mind with the deepest anxiety, and raising his expectation that he still might be released from the most overwhelming alternative. The sheriff rang the bell violently, against his usual practice, and rebuked the servant for not attending more promptly. In a few minutes he was informed a very mysterious-looking individual waited to be admitted.

“Who is he?” demanded the sheriff with palpitating heart; “what does he want?” and similar interrogatories, which the servant could satisfy; “what is he like?”

Upon which he was informed the man wore a broad-brimmed hat, his face covered with crape, and the remainder of his person so concealed by a sack or smock-frock, that he could give no better description of him.

“Show him in directly,” ordered the sheriff,

who, at the next moment exclaimed in an under tone, "thank God, I have found the man."

He seated himself near a table, snatched up a book, and assuming the greatest degree of composure he could command, pretended to be reading. The mysterious visitor was quickly introduced, and waiting until the door should be closed by the servant seated, himself, and with a hollow sepulchral voice, addressed the sheriff :

"I suppose you can guess my business, master? You have to hang a man to-morrow morning, I hear, and you want a helper, or perhaps some one to do the work for you."

"Yes," replied the sheriff in a trembling voice scarcely audible.

"Well," proceeded the man, "I am willing to take the job, if we can agree about the price."

The sheriff hastily swallowed a glass of brandy in an adjoining room, and having re-occupied his seat, boldly observed :

"Now, my fine fellow, state your terms, and if they are more favourable than any of the others, I shall accept them."

"Master Sheriff," retorted the contractor,

shaking his head significantly, "you must not think of gammoning of me with such stuff, because if you do, let me tell you I know as well as you that you an't had one from any man; and please to mind, in twelve hours the work must be done. I am willing to hang the man for a thousand dollars, or you may save the money and do it yourself."

After a pause of two seconds the man rose, and, addressing the bewildered sheriff, said:

"I have no time to stand here jawing about it; if you can do better do so, for to speak plainly, I don't half like the job."

"The night-fog is heavy outside; will you take a glass?" observed the alarmed sheriff.

"Thank you, master," the stranger hoarsely replied, "I don't care if I do."

Without following this conversation further, the glass of brandy had reopened the negociation. The stranger ultimately agreed to hang McLean, for the moderate sum of six hundred dollars down; and in conformity with the agreement, was locked up in the prison to secure the due performance of the contract. Our friend, Mr. S——, made a hearty supper, slept soundly, and rose at an early hour, in better condition



than he had expected, to fulfil his distressing duty as master of the ceremonies on so awful an occasion; and to keep up his courage, he failed not to retain ever present to his mind the wholesale slaughter which the criminal about to suffer the utmost penalty of the law had meditated.

At the hour appointed, the sort of funeral procession, with the executioner leading his victim, arrived at the place of execution on the glacis near St. John's gate, and in a few minutes the culprit was turned off from the ladder, when the gentleman with the craped face turned upon his heels, and addressing the sheriff, said :

"Now I have done my part, good morning to you, Master Sheriff."

"No, no," cried the latter, "you have not half done yet."

"I agreed to hang the man," exclaimed the executioner; "I have done so, and I have my money; you said nothing of the rest of the sentence, so I thought you wanted to have a finger in the pie, just to show you are not above your business."

The sheriff became almost speechless with terror, when the officer of the guard whispered to him :

“The man has already been hanging eight minutes, and must be cut down in seven minutes from this moment.”

The man began to move off, and the sheriff, feeling he had no alternative but to yield and increase the amount by a further payment, or himself go on with the most repugnant portion of the execution; he therefore caught the man by the arm, and said:

“Come, come, my good fellow, do the remainder, and I shall reward you handsomely.”

With an awful severity of countenance and bass tone of voice, the executioner slowly replied:

“I have lived too long amongst men, and particularly men in office, to place any trust in such fine promises; I must know how much you call a handsome reward.” Then sneeringly: “Make up the thousand, and I’ll go on.”

“Split the difference, and I’ll say yes,” the sheriff with spirit ejaculated; but to which the hangman retorted:

“Put down the stuff, old fellow.”

Here again the sheriff was plunged into despair; he had no means of complying with the demand on the spot.

The villain saw his difficulty, and pressed for cash.

The officer reminded the sheriff that in two minutes the man must be cut down.

In an agony of despair the sheriff implored of the executioner to give him credit, and declaring in one hour he should be paid.

“Well, then, another hundred for the credit, and your solemn oath you will keep your word, and I’ll go on.”

The sheriff gladly complied, and the crape-faced man held out his polluted hand, into which he spit for luck.

“Come,” said he, “it’s no bargain without we shake hands, you know that well enough, old fellow.”

The poor sheriff had no resource but to comply. Let any one figure to himself the wounded feelings of a man of high principles of honour, and acute sensibility, shaking hands with the hangman, under the body of a man he had just suspended, and was still swinging.

In the next moment the body of McLean was cut down; and as the performer had provided himself with a butcher’s knife and an axe, it was justly suspected he had already understood he was to complete the whole operation; but that a sudden thought had entered his mind, that he might turn the hapless condition of the

poor sheriff to a profitable result, in which he succeeded. Hewing a tolerably deep cut into the breast of the man's body, in form of a cross, he clapped the back of the knife between his teeth, and actually began to feel about for the heart, and being unsuccessful, he exclaimed: "D—n the fellow, he is so —— fat I cannot find his heart!" upon which he was informed a small piece of flesh thrown into his face would satisfy the purpose. The executioner chopped off the head, and holding it up by the hair, should have proclaimed to the horrified multitude: "Behold the head of a traitor!" but, not satisfied with that short announcement, he shouted: "Here's the head of a traitor to his king and his country!" which he thrice repeated with a strong Irish accent, and then cast the head upon the body, with the most perfect air of indifference. It was nevertheless generally believed that the man was an American, who had imitated the Irish accent in order to conceal his identity.

My table whilst on that island was very sparingly supplied: there was but little fish in the adjacent waters, and no vegetables were to be procured. The only addition to my government ration was a few pigeons, but even

these were only obtainable in the month of September and October, when the birds were passing from north to south, as I had arrived too late for the flocks going northwards.

My weekly ration consisted of four pounds of salted pork, three pints of dried peas, six ounces of butter, six ounces of rice, and seven pounds of flour; the pork and butter were as rancid as might be expected, from having been salted about fifteen to twenty years. It will not be difficult to believe that with such materials it was no easy matter to make any great variety betwixt the dinner served on one day from that produced on the next; it was, therefore, reduced to pork and pea-soup on one day, and pea-soup and pork on the day following. This was not, however, the most serious part of the case, for the four pounds of pork when cut up into seven pieces, and then boiled, shrunk up to a Vauxhall-sort of slice, merely serving to grease the soup a little and give it an agreeable rusty bacon flavour. It was, nevertheless, fortunate for me, my palate, by degrees, accommodated itself so effectually to this abominable flavour; that afterwards I was not at all satisfied with the taste of good, fresh butter and recently-salted pork which I found insipid and disagreeable.

In the course of my rambles, in my little birch-bark canoe, I had made various trips to a large island between the fort St. Joseph and the American shore, lying about south-west from my hut, and which was exclusively covered with pine timber. I had often been anxious to make some experiments on the natural succession of vegetation, after the first had been burnt down. Accordingly I set fire to the woods during the dried part of the summer, and so completely destroyed the whole of the vegetable production. Having returned to the Island of St. Joseph on the following year, I examined the ground and perceived, towards the latter part of the summer, that the only vegetable then growing was the Canadian poplar or the *Populus monilifera*.

END OF VOL. I.

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